FOREIGN
DISSERTATION
50100

EXCHANGE NOV 12 1910



B 2 642343

THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

WILTSHIRE

THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

EINAR EKBLOM

LIC. PHIL., ÖSTG.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPPSALA

TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED (IN ENGLISH) IN LECTURE HALL I,

MAY 25TH, 1917, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



UPPSALA 1917 APPELBERGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2008 with funding from Microsoft Corporation



THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

WILTSHIRE

THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

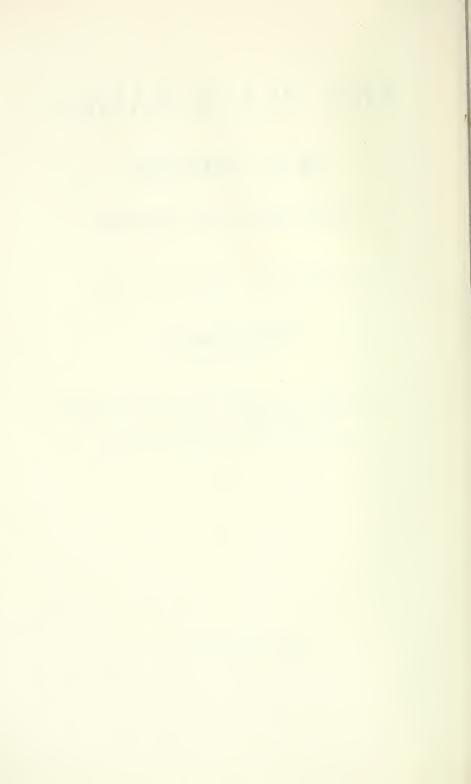
BY

EINAR EKBLOM

LIC. PHIL., ÖSTG.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPPSALA
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED (IN ENGLISH) IN LECTURE HALL I,
MAY 25TH, 1917, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UPPSALA 1917 APPELBERGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.



Preface.

No branch of English philology seems of late years to have aroused such great interest as the study of place-nomenclature, and, if one were to judge from the many works that have been published on this subject, the science in question ought to be at a comparatively advanced stage. A closer investigation of these works, however, will show that a great part of them by no means satisfy the claims of strict scholarship. As far as one can see, the study of English place-names has to a certain extent fallen into the hands of persons who have not sufficient knowledge of philology to be able to fulfil their task in a satisfactory way. It is also indisputable that this study to a great extent encourages dilettantism.

Two general points in which English place-name scholars have laid themselves open to criticism are the following:

1) the importance of the dialects as a factor in the development of the names seems entirely neglected; 2) insufficient attention is paid to geographical and topographical considerations. Moreover, many scholars content themselves with an inadequate collection of material, which naturally must also affect the reliability of their conclusions. On the other hand, however, it is evident that in this subject there are many points which are too difficult and uncertain to be settled, in spite of all attempts at thoroughness. Many names, for instance, contain Celtic elements, which are most often impossible to explain, but even Germanic elements may be very difficult to identify, when, as is some-

times the case, the old forms are unsatisfactory. Another fact which renders this study so difficult is the intimate connection of place-names with personal names, the study of the latter belonging to a quite different department of philology.

In this work are discussed all Wiltshire place-names given in Bartholomew's Gazetteer of the British Isles [ed. 1911], of which forms, previous to A. D. 1500, have been found 1. As for the material, which was collected partly in the Library of the British Museum, partly at the Univ. Library in Uppsala, I have had recourse to all those OF and ME documents which seemed to be valuable for this purpose; (in addition to those documents that are to be found in the bibliography, several others were searched which, however, proved to be valueless). In this I have endeavoured to get as many different spellings as possible represented (very corrupt forms have been left out), and for this reason the collection of material may claim to be fairly complete. In this part of the work, however, much difficulty arose over the question of identification. The editors of the ME documents are as a rule very accurate in this respect, though one may occasionally discover mistakes, and Jones' identifications especially seem carefully thought out. Kemble's identifications of the names in CD, on the other hand, are far from satisfactory. Among the numerous mistakes in the index to this work there are also startling inconsistences, such as when two adjacent places in the same charter are located in entirely different parts of a county, nay even in quite different counties. The few mistakes made by Birch in CS are of a far less serious nature. It may be pointed out that Birch sometimes gives an identity as certain on the strength merely of an OE

¹ As an additional source I have used the 1-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey. The names which do not occur in Bartholomew are, however, few in number.

form, when there is no confirmation from boundaries, etc. As, however, the OE charters are more carefully rendered by Birch in his CS, I have found it convenient to use this edition (up to A. D. 975), the versions of other editors (which in CS occur in foot-notes) being given in brackets. It is, however, an unfortunate fact that most of these forms, like the charters themselves, are not genuine but ME falsifications of the originals. Finally, as regards the names in the AS Chr., the question of their modern equivalents is, as is well known, to a great extent unsettled. The duty of a philologist with regard to the solution of these problems is naturally to put forward the philological considerations in any contested case.

The place-names of Wiltshire have not been subjected to any scientific investigation before, with the exception of a few names, which have been discussed more or less cursorily in other works, e. g. Cricklade by Duignan (Notes on Staffs. Pl. Ns, p. 116), Devizes by Zachrisson (Anglia XXXIV, p. 319), Malmesbury by Miller (Quellen u. Forschungen, Heft 78).

It is my pleasant duty to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have assisted me in carrying out my work. Above all I am indebted to Professor Erik Björkman, my teacher in English philology, for invaluable advice on various points and for the great interest he has always taken in my English studies. For many helpful suggestions my acknowledgements are also due to Mr Henry Alexander, Lector at the University of Uppsala, who has, in addition, revised my treatise from a stylistic point of view. Finally, I beg to thank all those who have informed me about dialectal, topographic, and other local matters, which it has been necessary for me to know, and especially Rev.

E. H. Goddard, Swindon, Secr. of Wilts. Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Soc., Mr J. R. Taylor, Headmaster of Marlborough College, Mr J. C. Longstaff, Holt, and D:r J. Kjederqvist, Stockholm.

Uppsala, May 1917.

Einar Ekblom.

Bibliography.

I. Sources.

- Abbr. Plac. = Placitorum in domo capitulari Westinonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio (Rich. I.—Edw. II.) Rec. Com. 1811.
- Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum; ed. G. Parthey et M. Pinder. Berlin 1848.
- AS Chr. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel; ed. Ch. Plummer (on the basis of an edition by J. Earle). 2 vols. Oxford 1892—99.
- Asser = Asser's Life of King Alfred (together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser); ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford 1904.
- Bede = Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum; ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford 1896.
- Birch = See CS.
- Br. Mus. = Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts British Museum. Vol. I ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley, London 1900; Vol. II ed. H. J. Ellis, London 1912.
- Cal. France = Calendar of documents, preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland; vol. 1.
 A. D. 918—1206; ed. J. H. Round. London 1899.
- C. Inq. = Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents, prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records (Hen. III.—Edw. III., Hen. VII.). London 1898 etc.
- Cal. Inq. = Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum (Hen. III.—Rich. III.). Rec. Com. 1806—28.
- Cal. inq. da. = Calendarium — inquisitionum ad quod damnum. See Cal. Rot. Ch.
- Cal. Rot. Ch. = Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum (1199—1483) et inquisitionum ad quod damnum (1307—1461). Rec. Com. 1803.
- CS = Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating

- to Anglo-Saxon history; ed. W. de Gray Birch. 3 vols. London 1885—93.
- Cat. A. D. = A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records, 5 vols. London 1890—1906.
- Ch. R. = Calendar of the Charter Rolls (1226—1326), prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records. London 1903—08.
- Cl. R. = Calendar of the Close Rolls, prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records (1227—1354). London 1892, etc.
- CD = Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici; ed. J. M. Kemble. 6 vols. London 1839—48.
- Crawf. Ch. = The Crawford collection of early charters and documents now in the Bodleian Library. Anecdota Oxoniensa; ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson. Oxford 1895.
- DB = Domesday Book seu Liber censualis Wilhelmi Primi regis Angliæ. Vol. I—II ed. A. Farley. London 1783; vols. III—IV, ed. H. Ellis. London 1816.
- Dugdale = Dugdale, William; Monasticon Anglicanum. New edition by J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel. 8 vols. London 1846.
- Ellis, Intr. = Ellis, H. A general introduction to Domesday Book. 2 vols. London 1833.
- Eulogium = Eulogium historiarum sive temporis: Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum domini 1366, a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum; ed. F. S. Haydon. Rolls Series. Vol. I. London 1858.
- Exon DB = Exon Domesday in DB vol. IV.
- Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum; ed. E. A. Bond. 1873—78.
- FA = Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, etc. 1284—1431, prepared under the superint, of the Dep. Keeper of the Records. Vol. V. London 1908.
- Feet of fines = Feet of fines, 1182—99. Pipe Roll Soc. 4 vols. London 1894—1900.
- Fine R. = Calendar of Fine Rolls (1272—1327), prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records. London 1911—12.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History (in Six Old English Chronicles; ed. J. A. Giles. London 1848).
- Gildas' Chronicle (in Six Old English Chronicles; ed. J. A. Giles. London 1848).

- Henry of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum; ed. Th. Arnold. Rolls Series. London 1879.
- H. Pipe R. = Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum Rot. Pipæ, 31 Hen. I.; ed. J. Hunter. Rec. Com. 1833.
- Keary Ch. F. and Grueber H. A. A Catalogue of English coins in the British Museum. 2 vols. London 1887, 1893. Kemble = see CD.
- Leland = The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535—43. 11 parts; ed. L. Smith. London 1907.
- Liber rub. = Liber rubeus de scaccario: the red book of the exchequer; ed. H. Hall. Rolls Series. 3 vols. London 1896.
- Luard, Ann. = Annales monastici; ed. H. R. Luard. Rolls Series. 5 vols. London 1864—69.
- LVD = Liber Vitæ ecclesiæ Dunelmensis nec non obituaria duo ejusdem ecclesiæ; ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Soc. London 1841.
- L. de Hyda = Liber monasterii de Hyda; comprising a chronicle of the affairs of England, from the settlement of the Saxons to the reign of King Cnut; and a chartulary of the abbey of Hide, in Hampshire. A. D. 455—1023; ed. E. Edwards. Rolls Series. London 1866.
- Macray = Charters and documents illustrating the history of the cathedral, city, and diocese of Salisbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Selected from the capitular and diocesan registers by the late Rev. W. R. Jones, and edited by the Rev. W. Dunn Macray. Rolls Series. London 1891.
- Migne, Aldh. epist. = Sancti Aldhelmi Schireburnensis Episcopi Epistolæ — — accurante J. P. Migne. Patrologia LXXXIX.
- Nennius' History of the Britons (in Six Old English Chronicles; ed. J. A. Giles. London 1848).
- NI = Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii. Temp. regis Edwardi III. Rec. Com. 1807.
- Osmund = Vetus registrum Sarisberiense alias dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi; ed. W. H. R. Jones. Rolls Series. 2 vols. London 1883—84.
- Pat. R. = Calendar of the Patent Rolls (1216—1485), prepared under the superint, of the Dep. Keeper of the Records. London 1891, etc.
- Phillipps' fines = Index of Wiltshire fines, Edw. III. to Rich. III. ed. Thomas Phillipps. Middle Hill Press.
- Phillipps' ped. fin. = Abbreviation of pedes finium, 7 Rich. I.—
 11 Hen. III., for Wiltshire; ed. Thomas Phillipps. Middle Hill Press.

- Pipe R. = The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 5th year of Hen. II. — (A. D. 1158—80). Pipe Roll Soc. London 1884—1914.
- Plac. Warr. = Placita de quo warranto, temp. Edw. 1., II., III. Rec. Com. 1818.
- Reg. Malm. = Registrum Malmesburiense. The register of Malmesbury abbey; preserved in the public rec. office; ed. J. S. Brewer. Rolls Series. 2 vols. 1879.
- Reg. Wilt. = Registrum Wiltunense, Saxonicum et Latinum in museo Britannico asservatum, ab anno regis Ælfredi 892, ad annum regis Eadwardi 1045. Sumptibus R. C. Hoare. London 1827.
- Rot. Ch. = Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati (1199—1216); ed. T. D. Hardy. Rec. Com. 1837.
- Rot. Cur. = Rotuli Curiæ Regis (Rich. 1.—John); ed. F. Palgrave. Rec. Com. 1835.
 - Three Rolls of the King's Court in the reign of King Rich. I. A. D. 1194—95. Pipe Roll Soc. 1891.
- Rot. H. = Rotuli Hundredorum, temp. Hen. III. et Edw. I. Rec. Com. 1812—18.
- Rot. Orig. = Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio, temp. Hen. III.—Edw. III. Rec. Com. 1805—10.
- R. fin. exc. = Excerpta e Rotulis Finium . . ., A. D. 1216—72;
 ed. Ch. Roberts. Rec. Com. 1835—36.
- R. L. Cl. = Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum (1204—27); ed. T. D. Hardy. Rec. Com. 1833—44.
- R. L. Pat. = Rotuli Litterarum Patentium (1201—1216); ed. T. D. Hardy. Rec. Com. 1835.
- R. Oblat. = Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati; temp. regis Johannis; ed. T. D. Hardy. Rec. Com. 1835.
- R. Pat. = Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium (3 John—23 Edw. IV). Rec. Com. 1802.
- Round, Ancient ch. = Ancient charters, royal and private, prior to 1200 (1095—1200); ed. J. H. Round. Pipe Roll Soc. 1888.
- T. Eccl. = Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ auctoritate P. Nicholai IV. circa A. D. 1291. Rec. Com. 1802.
- TN = Testa de Nevill, sive Liber feodorum... temp. Hen. III. et Edw. I. Rec. Com. London 1807.
- Thorpe = Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici: a collection of English charters, from A. D. 605 to William the Conqueror; ed. B. Thorpe. London 1865,
- W. Malm = Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi: De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque; ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton. Rolls Series. 1870.

II. Other works consulted.

Akerman, J. Y., Some account of the possessions of the abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts., in the days of the Anglo-Saxon Kings; with remarks on the ancient limits of the Forest of Braden. (Archæologia XXXVII.)

Names. (Mod. Lang. Rev. vol. VII, 1912).

——, The Particle -ing in Place-Names. (Essays and Studies vol. II, 1911).

Baddeley, W. St. Clair, Place-Names of Gloucestershire. (A handbook.) Gloucester 1913. [Baddeley.]

Barber, H., British Family Names, their origin and meaning. London 1903.

Bardsley, C. W., A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames with special American instances. London 1901. [Bardsley.]

Bartholomew, J. G., The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, compiled from the 1911 census and the latest official returns. Edinburgh 1914. [Bartholomew.]

Behrens, D., Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England. I: Zur Lautlehre der französischen Lehnwörter im mittelenglischen (Franz. Stud. Bd V, Heft 2, Heilbronn 1886).

Bergsten, N., A Study on Compound Substantives in English.
Uppsala 1911. [Bergsten.]

Binz, G., Zeugnisse zur germanischen Sage in England. (Beitr. zur Geschichte der deutschen Spr. XX, Halle 1895.) [Binz.] Björkman, E., Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English.

Halle 1900—02. [Loanwords.]

——, Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit. Halle 1910. [Pers. I.]

——, Zur englischen Namenkunde. Halle 1912. [Pers. 11.)

Bosworth-Toller = An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the manuscript collections of the late J. Bosworth; ed. T. N. Toller. Oxford 1882—98. With supplements 1908, 1916.

Bradley, H., English Place-Names (Essays and Studies vol. 1. 1910).

——, Some Old English Place-Names (Academy, June 2., 1894).
——. The Name of Robin Hood (Academy, Sept. 15., 1883).

Brandl, A., Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte (Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1915. Philos. Hist. Klasse).

Bülbring, K. D., Altenglisches Elementarbuch. I. Teil: Lautlehre. Heidelberg 1902.

—, Über Erhaltung des kurzen und langen æ-Lautes im Mittelenglischen. (Bonner Beitr. zur Angl. XV.)

Camden's Britannia; ed. E. Gibson. 2nd ed. vol. 1. London 1722. [Camden.]

Collingwood, W. G., Scandinavian Britain. London 1908.

Cornelius, H., Die englischen Ortsnamen auf -wick, -wich (in Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach, Halle 1913). [Cornelius.]

Dineen, P. S., An Irish-English Dictionary. Dublin 1904. [Dineen.] Du Cange = Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis conditum a Carolo Du Fresne Domino Du Cange etc. Niort 1883—87. [Du Cange.]

Duignan, W., Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names. Oxford 1902.

---, Worcestershire Place-Names. Oxford 1905.

——, Warwickshire Place-Names. Oxford 1912.

Eckhardt, E., Die angelsächsischen Deminutivbildungen (Engl. Stud. 32). [Eckhardt.]

EDD = The English Dialect Dictionary; ed. J. Wright. London 1898—1905.

Ellis, A. J., On Early English Pronunciation etc. . . Part. V. London 1889. [Ellis.]

Forssner, T., Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times. Uppsala 1916. [Forssner.]

Franck's Etymologisch Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal. Tweede Druk door N. van Wijk. 's-Gravenhage. 1912.

Freeman, E. A., The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results. Oxford 1877—79.

Förstemann, E., Altdeutsches Namenbuch I: Personennamen. Zweite Aufl. Bonn 1900. [Pers.]

——, Altdeutsches Namenbuch II: Orts- u. sonstige geographische Namen. Dritte Aufl., herausgegeben v. H. Jellinghuas. Bonn 1913—16. [Ortsn.]

The Gentleman's Magazine Library:

 English Topography, part XIII; ed. F. A. Milne. London 1901.

2. Romano-British Remains, part. II. London 1887.

Godefroy, F., Dictionnaire de L'Ancienne Langue Française etc. Paris 1880—1902.

Goodall, A., Place-Names of South-West Yorkshire. Cambridge 1914. [Goodall.]

Grein, C. W. M., Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter. Heidelberg 1912. Grimm, J. & W., Deutsches Wörterbuch. Leipzig 1854, etc.

Gross, Ch., The Sources and Literature of English History, from the earliest times to about 1485. London 1900.

Guest, E., Origines Celticæ and other contributions to the History of Britain. Vol. II. London 1883. [Guest.]

Heath, F. R., Wiltshire. London 1911. (The Little Guides' series.) [Heath.]

Hellquist, E., Om de svenska ortnamnen på -inge, -unge och

-unga. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskr. 11 (1905).

Hildebrand, F., Über das französische Sprachelement im Liber Censualis Wilhelms I. von England. (Zeitschr. f. Rom. Philol. 8, Halle 1884.) [Hildebrand.]

Hoare, R. C., The Ancient History of Wiltshire. London 1812-21. Holder, A., Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz. Leipzig 1896—1904.

[Holder.]

Horn, W., Historische neuenglische Grammatik. I. Teil: Lautlehre. Strassburg 1908. [Horn.]

Irvine, W. F., Place-Names in the Hundred of Wirral. Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, 1893.

Jellinghaus, H., Englische und Niederdeutsche Ortsnamen (Anglia XX, 1898.). [Jellinghaus.]

Jespersen, O., A Modern English Grammar on historical principles. Part. I. Heidelberg 1909. [Jespersen.]

Jones, W. H., Domesday for Wiltshire, extracted from accurate copies of the original records, accompanied with translations, illustrative notes, analysis of contents, and general introduction. Bath 1865. [Jones.]

Kemble, J. M., On a peculiar use of the Anglo-Saxon Patronymical termination -ing (Proceedings of the Philol. Soc. 1848

—50, vol. IV).

Kjederqvist, J., The Dialect of Pewsey (in Trans. of the Philol.

Soc. vol. 1903—06). [Kjederqvist.]

Kornmesser, E., Die französischen Ortsnamen germanischer Ab-Teil I: Die Ortsgattungsnamen. Strassburg 1888. kunft. [Kornmesser.]

Lind, E. H., Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från

medeltiden. Upsala 1905—15. [Lind.]

Lindkvist, H., Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin. Uppsala 1912. [Lindkvist.]

Longstaff, J. C., Notes on Wiltshire Names. Bradford-on-Avon 1911.

Luick, K., Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache (2 Lieferungen). Leipzig 1914. In progress.

Luick, K., Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik II. (Anglia XVI, 1894.)

Macbain, A., An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language. Stirling 1911. [Macbain.]

Major, A. F., Early Wars of Wessex; ed. by Ch. W. Whistler. Cambridge 1913.

McClure, E., British Place-Names in their historical setting. London 1910. [McClure.]

Menger, E., The Anglo-Norman Dialect. New York 1904.

Middendorff, H., Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch. Halle 1902, [Middendorff.]

Miller, T., Place-Names in the English Bede. (Quellen u. Forschungen, vol. 78. Strassburg 1896).

Moisy, H., Noms de famille normands. Paris 1875.

Moorman, F. W., The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire. (Publ. of the Thoresby Soc. 18. Leeds 1910). [Moorman.]

Morsbach, L., Mittelenglische Grammatik I. Halle 1896. [Morsbach.]

Mutschmann, H., The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire. Cambridge 1913. [Mutschmann.]

Müller, R., Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ. (Palæstra IX, Berlin 1901.) [Müller.]

Napier, A. S., Contributions to Old English Lexicography (in Trans. of the Philol. Soc. vol. 1903—06).

NED = A New English Dictionary on historical principles. Oxford 1888, etc.

Norrby, R., Ydre Härads Gårdnamn. Stockholm 1905.

Pearson, C. H., Historical Maps of England during the first thirteen centuries. With explanatory essays and indices. London 1869. [Pearson.]

Pughe, W. O., A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language. Third edition, ed. and enlarged by R. J. Pryse. Denbigh 1866, 73. [Pughe-Pryse.]

Roberts, R. G., The Place-Names of Sussex. Cambridge 1914. [Roberts.]

Rygh, O., Norske Gaardnavne: Forord og Indledning. Kristiania 1898.

—, Norske Gaardnavne. Kristiania 1897, etc. In progress.

Schade, O., Altdeutsches Wörterbuch. 2. Aufl. Halle 1872—82. Schlemilch, W., Beiträge zur Sprache und Orthographie spätaltengl. Sprachdenkmäler der Übergangszeit (1000—1150). (Stud. zur. engl. Philol. XXXIV, Halle 1914.) [Schlemilch.]

Searle, W. G., Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. Cambridge 1897. [Searle.]

Sedgefield, W. J., The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland. Manchester 1915. [Sedgefield.]

Sievers, E., Angelsächsische Grammatik. Dritte Aufl. Halle 1898. [Sievers.]

Skeat, W., The Place-Names of Huntingdonshire. (Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiq. Soc. X.) 1902.

——, The Place-Names of Hertfordshire. (Printed for the East Herts, Archæol. Soc.) 1904.

——, The Place-Names of Bedfordshire. (Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Publ. 8:0 ser. No. XLII.) 1906.

——, The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire. (Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Publ. 8:0 ser. No. XXXVI.) 1911.

——, The Place-Names of Berkshire. Oxford 1911.

—. The Place-Names of Suffolk, (Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Publ. 8:0 ser. No. XLVI.) 1913.

——. An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. 4th ed. Oxford 1910.

Stark, F., Die Kosenamen der Germanen. Wien 1868. [Stark.] Stenton, F. M., The Place-Names of Berkshire. Reading 1911.

Stevenson, W. H., Some Old-English words omitted or imperfectly explained in dictionaries (in Trans. of the Philol. Soc. vol. 1895—98).

Stokes, W. and Bezzenberger, A., Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit. Göttingen 1894. [Stokes.]

Stolze, M., Zur Lautlehre der altenglischen Ortsnamen im Domesday Book. Berlin 1902. [Stolze.]

Stratmann, F. H. and Bradley, H., A Middle English Dictionary. Oxford 1891.

Sveriges Ortnamn: Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län. På offentligt uppdrag utgivna af Kungl. Ortnamnskommittén. Stockholm 1906 f. In progress.

Swaen, A. E. H., Contributions to Anglo-Saxon Lexicography IV. (Engl. Stud. 37.) [Swaen.]

Sweet, H., A Primer of Spoken English. Oxford 1906.

Tanger, G.. Englisches Namen-Lexikon. Berlin 1888.

Walker, B., The Place-Names of Derbyshire. (Journal of the Derbyshire Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 1914, 15.) [Walker.]

Watts, Th.. On the Anglo-Saxon termination -ing. (Proceedings of the Philol. Soc. 1848—50, vol. IV.)

Werdam, J., Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek. 's-Gravenhage 1911.

II E. Ekblom

Westphal, J., Englische Ortsnamen im Altfranzösischen. Strassburg 1891. [Westphal.]

Winkler, J., Friesche Naamlijst (Onomasticon Frisicum). Leeu-

warden 1898.

Wright, J., Old English Grammar. Oxford 1908. [Wright.] Wyld, H. C., and Hirst, T. O., The Place-Names of Lanca-

shire, their origin and history. London 1911. [Wyld.] Zachrisson, R. E., A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names. Lund 1909. [Zachrisson.]

——, Some Instances of Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature. (Lunds universitets årsskr.) 1910.

—, The French Definite Article in English Place-Names.

(Anglia XXXIV.) 1911.

——, Two Instances of French Influence on English Place-Names (Stud. i mod. språkvet. V. Uppsala 1914).

—, Notes on Early English Personal Names (Stud. i mod. språkvet. VI, Uppsala 1917).

III. Maps.

Pearson's historical maps, see above, p. XIV. Cary's New English Atlas; ed. J. Cary. London 1809. The 1-inch Ordnance Survey Maps of Wiltshire.

Abbreviations (not given above).

acc. = accusative.

AN = Anglo-Norman.

Angl. = Anglian.

AS = Anglo-Saxon.

Beds. = Bedfordshire.

Berks. = Berkshire.

Bucks, = Buckinghamshire,
Cambs. = Cambridgeshire.
Cumb. = Cumberland.

dat. = dative.
Dors. = Dorset.

E. R. of Yorks. = East Riding of Yorkshire.

f. (fem.) = feminine. gen. = genitive.

Glos, = Gloucestershire.

Hants. = Hampshire.

Herts. = Hertfordshire.

Hunts. = Huntingdonshire.

Lancs. = Lancashire.

Lat. = Latin.

Leics. = Leicestershire.

m. (masc.) = masculine.

ME = Middle English.

MLG = Middle Low German.

mod. = modern.

mun. bor. = municipal borough.

n. = neuter.

NE = New English.

Northants. = Northamptonshire.

Notts. = Nottinghamshire.

OE = Old English.

OF = Old French.

OHG = Old High German.

Oxfs. = Oxfordshire.
p. n(s) = personal name(s).
pl. n(s) = place-name(s).
prim. Germ. = primitive Germanic.

Scand. = Scandinavian.
Soms. = Somerset.
Staffs, = Staffordshire.
Warws. = Warwickshire.
Wilts. = Wiltshire.
Worcs. = Worcestershire.

W. R. of Yorks. = West Riding of Yorkshire.

WS = West Saxon.

Introduction.

Wiltshire is an inland county, situated in the southwestern part of England, S of the upper Thames. In Old English times it consequently belonged to the territory of the West-Saxon dialect. The following old references to the name of the county may be quoted: [A. D. 800] Wilsætan, mid Wilsætum AS Chr. [Ā], Wilsæte ib. [E]; [870] Wiltunscire ib. [Ā] (interpolated); [878] Wilsætan ib. [Ā], Willsæte ib. [E]; 940—46 † in wiltschire CS no. 817; 955 to Wiltunscire ib. no. 912; [981] on Wiltunscire AS Chr. [C]; [994] Wiltunscire ib. [Ā]; 996—1006 to Wiltunscire CD no. 716; [1003] of Wiltun scire AS Chr. [E]; 1086 Wiltescire DB; 1160 Wiltescyr Macray; 1196 Wiltescr Feet of fines; 1215 in Willtesire Rot. Ch.; 1237 Wyltys' Cl. R; 1317 on Wiltun scire Ch. R; c. 1540 Whileshir(e) (several times) Leland.

The oldest name was consequently Wilsætan, Wilsæte, which denoted 'the settlers on the Wiley-stream'. Of these two forms, the former is the genuine one [< prim. Germ. *-sætjon-; cf. OHG -sāzo, OLG (land)sētio]. Wilsæte is, in its turn. to be considered as a secondary formation on the analogy of such names as Dene, Engle, Seaxe, etc. If this original form had been able to develop normally, the modern name would consequently have been *Wilset (in the same way as the adjoining counties in the west and south are called Somerset and Dorset). Like most counties, however, Wilt-

¹ The sign (†) indicates that the name before which it appears is ont genuine but a later (ME) rendering.

¹ E. Ekblom

shire, came to be called after its chief town Wilton, and the change of the name has certainly taken place in the later OE period (probably before A. D. 1000).

This would perhaps be the place to give a summary account of the antiquities, history, and topography of the county, things with which place-names are often so intimately connected, but as these subjects are thoroughly dealt with in other places 1, I have contented myself with calling attention to such points only in connection with those names which for one reason or another demand it. It is, however, all the more necessary to state what the present investigation has discovered about the ancient colonization of the county. That the Normans in their time were predominant in these parts is shown not only by the abundance of French family names, which occur as distinctive names, but also from the strong influence that their language has exercised on the placenames. In the treatment of this part of the subject I have in most cases been able to refer to Zachrisson's work 'A Contribution to the Study of AN Infl. on Engl. Pl. Ns., which has proved most valuable. But I think that the present treatise will also contribute some additional material to Zachrisson's own collection. Attention may here be drawn to a few cases of AN influence, which are of particular interest (for further information on these names see below): Devizes, derived from OFrench devises (plur. of devise = 'boundary'); the form Graveling(es), which was current in ME as a variant of Gravele, mod. Grovely [prob. < *grāfan lēah (lēaze)], due to the influence of Gravelines, the sea-port on the other side of the Channel. Note also such names as: Bushton (< *bisc(e)opes tūn), Groundwell [< *grinde- (grinda-?) wyll(e)], Landford (< *se langa ford),

¹ e. g. in R. C. Hoare: The Ancient History of Wiltshire, London 1812—21; The Magazine of Wilts. Archæol, and Nat. Hist. Soc.; Devizes, 1854—; F. R. Heath: Wiltshire, London 1911.

Roundway (prob. < *Hringan wez), and Winkfield [< *Wines (Winan?) feld], in which the alteration of the first elements has been occasioned by AN spelling and pronunciation.

Dunkirk (a hamlet near Devizes) is a name borrowed from Dunkerque [Dunkirk] (in the present French Flanders) and therefore probably introduced by Flemings.

Continental p. ns occurring as first elements in Wilts. pl. ns are: Blund (in Blunsdon), Boia (Boyton), Cort [Corting)ton], Elias? (Elston), (*)Fallard (Faulstone), Flambard (Flamston), Heppo (*Heppa?) [Hippenscombe], Oda (Odstock, probably), Radbod (Rabson)¹.

The Scand, elements in Wilts, pl. ns are limited to a number of p. ns; apart from these, as is to be expected from the situation of the county, no Scand. influence whatever has been traced. The only word which might be taken as Scand, is brink (in Brinkworth), although it is very doubtful if we are justified in assuming this. The most certain of the Scand. p. ns occurring here are: *Aska (< Aski) [in Axford], *Buter (Butr) [Buttermere], Estrið (Heytesbury), Gamel (or *Gamela) [Gomeldon], Grim (Grims Ditch, Grimstead), Hacun (Haxton), *Kale (Kali) [Calstone], Raf(e)n (Ramsbury), Rolf (Rollestone), Tola (< Toli) [Tollard], *Ugga (< Uggi) [Ugford]. Several of these names have no doubt been introduced by the Normans, but some of them probably also go back to the time of the Danish Kings, when Scand. p. ns may have gained ground even in those parts of England which had earlier remained quite untouched by Scand. influence. But a Scand. settlement in the real sense of the word seems never to have existed in Wilts.

Finally it must be noticed that a not unimportant Celtic element seems to have survived in these parts even after

Only three of these names are Romance: Blund, Elias, and probably Fallard; one is Celtic, viz. Boia; all the others Germanic.

the Germanic tribes had settled down there, for apart from such names as contain Celtic words which have become current in the English language [e. g. down (don) and combe (coombe)], there are about thirthy pl. ns in Wilts., which, partly or entirely, are in all probability of Celtic origin. This is really not surprising when we consider the proximity of Wilts. to the Welsh borders. Although it has been impossible for me to interpret most of them, their forms conclusively prove that they cannot be Germanic. Names which in all probability contain Celtic elements are Braydon, Calne. Cherhill, Cheverell, Chute, Conock, Corston, Cricklade, Deverill (see Brixton Deverill), Crudwell, Keevil, Kellaways, Kennet, Knook, Knoyle, Preshute, Quemerford, Quidhampton, Savernake, Shorncote, Stourton, Wanborough, Warminster, Wellow, and Wylye (Wily). It is also most probable that some pl. ns conceal p. ns of Celtic origin. Of such p. ns may be mentioned Cada (in Cadnam, Catcombe), Cead(d)a (in Chaddenwicke) [both probably shortened forms of the Celtic Cædwalla and its anglicized variant Ceadw(e)alla respectively], and Peuf (in Pewsey, Pewsham). The fact, however, that there existed such a great number of Germanic p. ns as well which defy any attempt at a plausible explanation (I refer especially to the common hypocoristic formations) makes it very dangerous to state that an obscure p. n. is definitely Celtic or Germanic.

Abbotston [locally pronounced *ebəst'n*] ¹ E of Downton. 1272 *Aboteston* Pat. R; 1296 *Abbodesdon* Cl. R; 1316 *Abbodeston* FA; 1338 *Abbesseton* Cal. Inq.; 1348 *Abboteston* ib.; 1404 *Abbeston* Phillipps' fines; 1459 *Abbeston* Cal. Inq.

From an original *abbodes $t\bar{u}n$. OE $t\bar{u}n$, the commonest of all terminations in English pl. ns., meant 'enclosed place or piece of ground', 'farmstead', 'hamlet'. -ton is very often confused with -don [< OE $d\bar{u}n$], and it is therefore sometimes impossible to settle which of them was the primitive element. The contracted ME forms indicate that the modern local pronunciation was already current in ME.

Ablington N of Amesbury.

1086 Alboldintone DB; 1223 Ablinton Pat. R; 1227 Ablinton Ch. R; 1252 Eblinton (twice) ib.; 1485, 1487 Ablyngton C. Inq.; 1560 Ablington Br. Mus.

I derive this name from an original $*Eadbealdinga\ t\bar{u}n$ [= the farmstead of Eadbeald's descendants]. The first l in the DB form is certainly a spelling mistake, and -bold-(for bald) is due to weakened stress. -in- is an AN rendering of -ing- (see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 137). The initial a-vowel implies a shortening either of the original diphthong itself or of \bar{a} (in the transition period), while in the case of Eblinton the shortening is of a later date. This explanation is to be preferred to the one given by Wyld, p. 25, according to whom the a-forms are due to shifting of stress in the OE diphthong. It is to be noticed that initial $\bar{a}a$ in that case

¹ The phonetic transcription used in this work is that of Sweet, given in his Primer of Spoken English.

would more probably have become zea, iá (see Sievers § 212, note 2, and Zachrisson, p. 65); cf. Urchfont (DB Jerchesfonte, Pipe R Archesfunte), below.

The present name offers an opportunity of discussing those cases in which a medial -ing-suffix in pl. ns. occurs uninflected in OE charters (e. g. Æðiluulfing lond CS no. 303). Kemble's opinion about such forms [in Proc. of the Philol. Soc. IV] is that this -ing has the special function of being the equivalent of the strong gen. ending (consequently Æðiluulfing = Æðiluulfes). Against this opinion Th. Watts maintains (in the same volume, p. 83) that the -ing-form in question is a sort of uninflected adjective analogous to Pariser, Londoner, etc. in German.

Both these opinions are consequently based on the supposition that these -ing-forms were originally uninflected, and this seems also to have been accepted by other scholars. There is, however, strong reason to doubt such strange functions of the -ing-suffix, which, in addition, seem to be quite unknown in the other Germanic languages. The fact is that many of those forms on which Kemble bases his theory are taken from charters bearing evident signs of being ME copies (Kemble himself marks several of them in CD as not genuine). Nothing prevents us therefore from considering all of them simply as ME forms of original gen. plurals (Æbiluulfinga). Many examples show that this gen. plur. ending may have quite disappeared even as early as in DB (when it survives it is represented by -e-).

Another curious statement concerning this 'non-inflected' -ing-suffix is made by Moorman (Pl. Ns of the W. Riding of Yorks. Introd. p. XLI), according to whom it was used in OE instead of the ending -an to denote the gen. sing. case of a p. n. of the weak declension. This also has no sound evidence to support it. The fact of the matter is that OE -an sometimes develops into -ing, a transition which must be due to the analogy of the many pl. ns

containing a patronymic as the first element, but this change did certainly not take place until ME times (see Alexander, Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 70).

Consequently, in deciding the etymology of a pl. n. containing as the first element a patronymic of a strong p. n., uninflected even in its oldest forms, we have to assume an original gen. plur. case, but the *ing*-suffix of a weak p. n. may sometimes also be derived from the gen. -an.

Alcombe NW of Box.

1496 Alcombe C. Inq.

This single ME form does not tell us very much. The original name may have been *Ællan, [or Allan] eumb. For the p. ns Ælla, Alla see Müller, p. 45, and Björkman, Pers. I, p. 4, respectively. OE eumb (= small valley) is generally supposed to be of Celtic origin. Modern Welsh has eum in the same sense.

Aldbourne N of Ramsbury.

1086 Aldeborne DB; 1181 Aldiburna Pipe R; 1194 Aldeburā Rot. Cur.; 1206 Aldeburā R. L. Cl.; 1214 Audibrā ib.; 1225 Audiburā R. fin. exc.; 1229 Audibura Ch. R; c. 1290 Aldeburn(e) T. Eccl.; 1310 Aldeborne C. Inq.; 1428 Aldebourne FA.

Originally **et Ealdan (Angl. Aldan) burne (burnan), referring to the little affluent of the River Kennet on which the place is situated. OE burn f., burne f., burna m. = 'small stream', 'brook'. The first element was certainly the gen. of Ealda (Alda)¹, which may be regarded either as a nickname meaning 'the old one' or as a shortened form of some p. n. beginning with Eald- e. g. Ealdhelm, Ealdred (or their Angl. equivalents). The OE ending -an in the middle of pl. ns is most often weakened to e in earliest ME. The present pl. n. indicates that this e has been

¹ The possibility that the first element might represent the OE adj. *eald* is certainly out of the question as this would not give a likely meaning.

syncopated before the ME transition of $\bar{a} > \bar{\varrho}$. (For those cases in which the OE -an- is retained as (e)n or changed into in, ing, see Alexander, Mod. Lang. Rev. VII; see also Baynton, below.) Aude- shows AN vocalization of l.

Alderbury SE of Salisbury.

972 Æðelware byrig CS no. 1286 [possibly identical]; 1086 Alwarberie, Alwaresberie DB; c. 1115 Alwarbiri Osmund; 1139? Alwardberia Macray; c. 1190 de Alwardebirie Osmund; 1194 de Alwarbire Rot. Cur.; 1215—20 de Alwarburie Osmund; 1222 Alwardbur. ib.; 1243 Alwarbire Macray; Hen. III Aylwardebyr' Rot. H; 1287 Alwardesburi C. Inq.; c. 1290 Alwardbury, Aylwardbury, Aldewerbury T. Eccl.; 13th cent. in Aldwardbiriæ Liber rub.; 1318 Aldewardebury Pat. R.; 1341 Alrebury Cal. Rot. Ch.; Edv. III Alwardesburi C. Inq.; 1476 Alewardbury Cal. Inq.; c. 1540 Alwardbyri Leland.

Originally **xt Æðelweardes byriz, or possibly Æðelware b. [although **Æðelwaru (fem.) is not recorded as an independent p. n.]. The development of OE xðel in p. ns and pl. ns is discussed by Zachrisson, p. 101 ff.

The series of old forms given above proves that the definitive change of Alwar(d)-> Alder- did not take place until NE times, but tendencies in this direction seem to have existed even in ME, judging from the forms quoted from T. Eccl., Liber rub., Pat. R., and Cal. Rot. Ch. This change must be due to analogy with the many pl. ns which contain Alder- as the first element. Such a name is found even in the neighbourhood of Alderbury, viz. Alder(s)ton (see below). OE burh (dat. byriz) denoted 'a fortified place'. For e as a representative of OE y in DB see Stolze § 15. The final e in -berie has been added in analogy with those names in which -e in this position represents the OE dat, form.

If the origin *Æðelweardes byriz is correct, the two DB forms are of special interest because they show that the strong gen. -s

might have been dropped here. Doublets of this kind are not rare either in DB or in other ME documents. According to Zachrisson, p. 119, the circumstance that there existed two forms of the gen. in many OE p. ns used as the first element in pl. ns, one with s, the other without (Frodes - Frodan, etc.) may easily have led to confusion and uncertainty in the use of s between two pl. n. compounds in general. Alexander (Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 66 f.) gives other explanations which also seem reasonable. Here may be mentioned another circumstance which might have been an even more important cause of the omission of the s in question, viz. the fact that the French gen. had no inflectional ending. We may mention such French pl. ns of this type as Martin-bose (A. D. 1130), Robert-Camp (A. D. 1181) [quoted from Kornmesser, pp. 53, 47]. Loss of a medial gen. -s in English pl. ns may therefore be due to a great extent to the influence of such French names. An original name of the type *Æðelweard byriz is naturally impossible. (For the insertion of an inorganic s and the omission of a stem s in the composition joint see under Corton.)

Note. œwelburhe (heme diche) CD no. 654 is identified by Kemble with Alderbury, Wilts. The absurdity of this identification is proved by Bradley [Academy, June 2, 1894].

Alder(s)ton near Whiteparish.

1166 de Alderestoù Pipe R; 1272 Aderedeston Pat. R; 1313 Aldredeston R Pat.; 1314 Aldredestone C. Inq.; 1316 Aldreston FA; 1324 Aldredeston Pat. R.

From *Ealdredes $t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a common OE p. n.

¹ It seems, however, as if some scholars would admit the possibility of such a form. Thus, Alexander (in Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 67) refers to a suggestion of Prof. Wyld that a usage without a gen. ending may be due to the fact that the p. n. was felt to be a sort of adjective qualifying the second element.

Alderton NW of Grittleton.

1086 in Aldritone, Aldrintone DB; 1194 de Aldrintoñ Rot. Cur.; 1261 Audinton Br. Mus.; Edv. I Aldrynton, (in) Aldrintone ib.; c. 1290 Aderinton T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Audrinton TN; 1316 Aldrynton FA; 1428 Aldryngton ib.; 1432 Alderington R. Pat.; 1675 Aldrington Br. Mus.

The first element evidently contains originally the patronymic of a p. n. beginning with Eald- (Angl. Ald-) and with a second member beginning with r. Only one name of this kind is on record in OE, viz. Ealdred, but there may also have existed a p. n. *Ealdrie. Alderton is consequently to be derived from *Ealdredinga (or possibly *Ealdricinga) tūn. A contraction has taken place in this name of exactly the same kind as in Cholderton, Hilperton; see below. Loss of a medial -ing-suffix in pl. ns occurs very often. In the present case, this seems to have taken place far on in NE times, but it is just as commonly lost in ME; cf. e. g. Corton (Cortington), Dinton, Hannington. For -i-as representing -ing- in DB see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 11.

All Cannings E of Devizes.

1086 Caninge DB; 1166 Chaningis Pipe R (or = Bishop's Cannings); 1185 Kanenges (hundr.) ib.; 1205 de Aldekanning̃ R Oblat; de Aldekanīge Rot. Ch.; Aldechanīgg R. L. Cl.; 1296 Allekanynges Pat. R; 1316 Alcanninges FA; 1428 Cannygges, Allecanynges FA.

In OE times this place was certainly called simply *Caningas (*act Caningum), this name including also Bishop's Cannings, the distinctive names being, as is most often the case, ME additions. *Caningas is a plur. patronymic of a p. n. *Cana, recorded in DB [Ellis, Intr. II p. 64] in the latinized form Cano. The same name occurs in Cannington, Soms. (1284 Caninton FA; 1315 Canyngtone C. Inq.).

Pl. ns of the present kind are discussed by Alexander [Essays & Studies II, p. 175 ff.]. According to him the

names in -ing (-inge) are derived from original oblique cases, either from the gen. plur. (with $-h\bar{a}m$, $-t\bar{u}n$ etc. understood), or from the dat. plur¹.

The epithet was originally the ME adj. ald (= old), which, after the loss of d between two consonants coincided with all. For the AN ch as a representative of OE c (k) see Zachrisson, p. 32 f.

Allington SE of Amesbury.

1086 Allentone, Alentone DB; 1178? Aldintona Br. Mus.; 1199 in Aldinton Rot. Ch.; 1270 Alletona, Aldintona Ch. R; c. 1290 Aldyngton T. Eccl.; 1316 Aldynton FA; 1428 Aldyngton ib.; 1486 Aldyngton C. Inq.

This name, like the following, goes back to * $\mathcal{E}llan$ (Allan?) $t\bar{u}n$, or * $\mathcal{E}llinga$ (Allinga) $t\bar{u}n$. For $\mathcal{E}lla$, Alla see under Alcombe. The inorganic d of some forms must be due to the influence of the numerous names beginning with Ald-.

Allington NW of Chippenham.

1316 Alynton FA; 1397 in Alyngtone Br. Mus.; [n. d.] de Alyntone Reg. Malm. See preceding name.

Allington NE of Devizes.

1086 Adelingtone DB; 1194 in Alingeton Rot. Cur.; 1316 Alington FA; 1324, 1428 Alyngton ib.

From * $\mathcal{L}\delta elinga$ $t\bar{u}n$; $a\delta eling$ = either a prince, member of a noble family, or a patronymic of the p. n. $\mathcal{L}\delta el$, * $\mathcal{L}\delta ela$ (the latter being a pet-form of some name beginning with $\mathcal{L}\delta el$ -). Medial OE δ is most often rendered by d in DB [Stolze § 38]; see also on this point Zachrisson, p. 97 ff.

¹ In the present case, where the absence of s is merely occasional, the s-less forms may naturally just as well be explained as shortened forms, where the sign (\sim) (over the final g), representing the ending -es, has been omitted (in the same way as the stroke (-) over y representing the following n has been left out in one of the FA forms).

Alton Barnes or Berners NW of Pewsey.

1086 Aultone [= A. B.], Awltone [= A. P.] DB; 1189 Aulton Br. Mus.; 1284 Aulton Ch. R; c. 1290 de Aultone Berners, de Aultone Prioris T. Eccl.; Edw. I in Aweltun' Berner Rot. H; early 14th cent. Awelton Prioris TN; 1316 Aulton Bernes FA; 1428 Aulton (Berners), Aulton Prioris ib.

From *ēa-wyll-tūn. A little tributary of the East Avon rises here. The WS compound *ēa-wyll(e) [Angl. *ā-wæll, *ā-well] is to be taken quite literally as 'the source of a brook or river', not simply 'river' as Middendorff states, p. 9. Cf. Alton, Hants. (near the source of the River Wey), which occurs as Æweltune CS no. 390. For the initial a see p. 5 (under Ablington).

'Berner' is an AN family name (see Bardsley), and 'Barnes' in the present case can hardly be anything but a corruption of this name. Alton Priors formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Swithun at Winchester; see Ch. R II, p. 288.

Alton N of Amesbury.

1086 Eltone DB; 1281 Alletona Br. Mus.; c. 1290 de Aletone T. Eccl.; 1310 Aleton Ch. R; 1316 Aleton FA; 1361 Aleton Cl. R; 1428 Alton FA.

Probably from * $\mathcal{E}llan\ t\bar{u}n$, the first element being the gen. of the p. n. $\mathcal{E}lla$, for which see Müller, p. 45. For the representation of OE w by e in DB see Stolze § 4.

Alvediston SSE of Tisbury.

1166 de Alfwietestoù Abbtisse Pipe R; King John Alvitheston Abbr. Plac.; 1222 Alvitheston Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1271 Alvedeston C. Inq.; 1287 Albedeston ib.; c. 1290 Alvedestone T. Eccl.; 1312 Alvedstone Cal. inq. da.; 1336 Alfedeston Cal. Inq.; 1359 Alvideston Cl. R; 1428 Alveston (twice) FA.

The first element was certainly the p. n. *Elfhap, recorded as Alfeth in CS no. 641, and as Elfeth in DB [Ellis, Intr. II p. 5]. The transition of the medial -th- into the corresponding explosive is in the present case hardly to be explained either as an AN substitution or as a dialectal development [see Zachrisson p. 97 ff.]. It may rather be due to the difficulty of pronouncing two fricative consonants next to each other (th and s). Cf. the transition of gh > g in Brigmerston, $\chi > k$ in Brixton, th > t in Ratfym. As to t for th in the Pipe R form see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. b for v, a not uncommon mistake in ME mss. as well as the reverse, is due to the similarity between these letters.

According to Jones, p. 204, this place was included in the large estate at Chalk [Bower Ch. and Broad Ch.] which in 955 was granted to the abbey at Wilton (CS no. 917). Hence the distinctive name in Pipe R.

Amesbury or Ambresbury [eimzbəri].

858 †Amberesburg CS no. 495; 880—85 †et Ambres byrig ib. no. 553; 932 †Ambresburch ib. no. 691; 972 †hambres buruh ib. no. 1286; [995] †Ambresbyri AS Chr. [F]; 1086 Amblesberie, Ambresberie DB; 1205 Ambresber' Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1215 Ambresbyre Macray; 1223 Ambresbirie Osmund; 1227 Amesbury, Ambresburi Ch. R; 1242 Aumberbiry Pat. R; 1248 Ambesbire Macray; 1265 Ambrebiry Pat. R; 1267 Ambesbyre Macray; Ambrosebury Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1270 Aumbresbyry Pat. R; 1290 Amesbury Ch. R; 1322 Great Aumbresburi C. Inq.; 1331 Aumbresbury (four times) ib.; 1335 Ambresburye Magna Cal. Inq.; Amesbury Ch. R; 1428 Magna Ambresbury, Parva A. FA; 1485 Amysbury C. Inq.; 1487 Ammesbury ib.; 1495 Ambesbury ib.

This place is traditionally connected with the Roman leader Aurelius Ambrosius mentioned in Gildas, Beda, Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Although a derivation of this pl. n. from *Ambrosius* would not infringe philological

laws, yet there is much doubt about such an etymology. Tradition is after all too unreliable to have much weight in deciding the etymology of a pl. n. But there is no doubt that the first element was a p. n., and if this name was Germanic, it may have been Eammer (<*Eanmer) or possibly Eanbeorht. The second element was OE byriz (dat. of burh). As to l for r in one of the DB forms see Zachrisson, p. 142 ff. Other pl. ns with a similar first element are Amberley, Sussex (see Roberts, Pl. Ns of Sussex), Ambrosden Oxfs. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.), Ombersley, Worcs. (see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Worcs.), and Ambrosetown, Wexford.

Anstey or Ansty SSE of Tisbury.

1086 Anestige DB; 1224 Anesty Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1245 Ansteya Macray; 1251 of Anestye Ch. R; Edw. I Anestye, Alnestye Rot. H; 1316 Anestigh FA; 1428 (in) Anstye, (de) Anstie ib.

Originally *wt [$\hbar\bar{e}m$] $\bar{a}nst\bar{i}\chi an$. The OE compound, * $\bar{a}nst\bar{i}\chi a$, which is only found in oblique cases, meant 'narrow path (passage)' [cf. OW Scand. einstigi= 'a path, so narrow that only one can pass']. In the Epinal Glosses the word occurs as a translation of termofilas (see thermiphilw, Du Cange), consequently denoting 'a narrow passage between hills', but Middendorff's conclusion from this single case that it could only have that sense seems too hazardous to be trusted. In the case of the present name, there is no topographical evidence to support the latter meaning. As to the intrusive l in Alnestye see Zachrisson, p. 150.

[Ashgrove SE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

This name has been inserted only on account of Thorpe's identification of *Escgraf* p. 443 with this place. There seems, however, nothing to support this statement. Ashgrove may be a comparatively new name, and its sense is in that case obvious.]

Ashley NE of Tetbury (Glos.).

1086 Esselie DB; 1194 Esselega Rot. Cur.; 1222 Asseleg Macray; c. 1290 Ashle T. Eccl.; 1341 Asshesleghe Br. Mus. (prob. identical); [n. d.] de Hasselleye, de Asseleye, Esseleye, Aisseleye, de Eshleye Reg. Malm.; 1428 Asshele FA.

Originally *\alpha t [\bar{p}\bar{e}m, \bar{p}\bar{e}re] \alpha sc-l\bar{e}aze ('ash-tree meadow') or *\alpha t \mathcal{E}scan l\bar{e}aze, \mathcal{E}sca being probably a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with \mathcal{E}sc-, of which there are a great number. OE l\bar{e}ah, m. and f., is most common in pl. ns, in compounds as well as by itself. The OE nom. gives modern lea, leigh.

Aiss- for Ass- is inverted spelling; see Luick, Anglia XVI, p. 505 ff. For the AN rendering of OE sc (f) with s, ss see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Ashley near Box.

Hen. III in Asseleye, in Hasseleye Br. Mus.; 1428 Asshele FA. See above.

Ashley, Great and Little NW of Bradford.

1492 Aissheley Cal. Inq.; 1494 Assheley C. Inq. See above.

Ashton Gifford SE of Heytesbury.

1247 Ayston C. Inq.; 1281 Aihston Ch. R; 1316 (de) Ashetone FA; 1327 of Asshetone, Aschtone, Asshton C. Inq.; 1357 Ashtone Giffard Cal. Inq.

Either from *ase- tūn or *Asean tūn. 'Gifford' (Giffard) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 336.

Ashton Keynes W of Cricklade.

1086 Essitone DB; 1281 Aston, Ayston(e) C. Inq.; 1316 de Ashtone FA; 1404 Assheton Cal. Inq.; 1428 Assheton FA. See preceding name. 'Keynes' (Kaines) is a family name, according to Bardsley probably Norman.

Ashton, West SE of Trowbridge.

1256 in Westaston R. fin. exc.; 1485 West Aisshton, Ashton C. Inq.

There are three neighbouring Ashtons here, which certainly were originally one and the same estate. The other two are called Rood Ashton and Steeple Ashton. For further information see Steeple Ashton.

Atworth NW of Melksham.

1001 †at Attenwrthe CD no. 706; 1316 de Atteworthe FA; 1324 Ateworth ib.; 1352 Ateworth Cal. Inq.; 1402 Atteworth Cotell FA; 1404 Little Cotels, alias Cotels Atteward Cat. AD; 1428 Cotelatteword, Parva Atteworth FA; 1489 Atward C. Inq.; 1495 Atteworth, Cotteles Atteward ib.

Originally *Attan wearp (worp, wurp, wyrp). Atta is a p. n. which, apart from its occurrence in pl. ns, is recorded on English territory in LVD; see Müller § 37. OE wearp = homestead', 'habitation with surrounding land', 'property'. The termination -ward indicates weakened stress. 'Cotel(s)' is according to Hildebrand, p. 334, a French family name.

Many scholars would perhaps be inclined to derive the present name from an original *at \$pam weorðe\$. Moorman, for instance, is of opinion that \$Attercliffe\$, W. R. of Yorks, goes back to OE *at \$pam clife\$. There is, however, strong reason to doubt an etymology of this kind, because there is not a single authenticated case of the total coalescence of the OE preposition and article with the pl. n. itself¹. The first element of \$Attercliffe\$ can hardly have been anything but the p. n. \$Atta\$ (r is intrusive as appears from the old forms quoted by Moorman). Cf \$Atherstone\$, \$Atherstone\$ (-on-Stour)\$, Warws., which contain the p. ns. \$Eadred\$, \$Eadric\$ respectively (see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws.)\$, \$Atherton\$, Lancs., probably containing the p. n. \$Atser\$ (see Wyld)\$, and \$Attenborough\$, Notts., containing the p. n. \$Eada\$ (see Mutschmann)\$. If the OE prep. and article in question had possessed such

¹ Zachrisson. Anglia XXXIV, p. 350 f., calls attention to a few cases in which the final consonant of the OE article $\hbar\bar{e}m$ > ME then has been prefixed to a pl. n. beginning with a vowel (although most of these names, in my opinion, may equally probably have got their initial consonant from the prep. in).

great vitality as Moorman ascribes to them, they would certainly have survived rather frequently in those modern pl. ns which consist of a single subst.

Note. The places mentioned in CD no. 706 are, with two or three exceptions. located by Kemble in Dorset. It is, however, quite evident that several of them are situated in Wilts., viz. †Attenwrthe, †Bradeforda (= Bradford-on-Avon), Broctúne (= Broughton Gifford), †Chaldfelde (= Chalfield), †Cosehám (= Corsham), †Farnléghe (= Monkton Farleigh), †Heselberi (Hazelbury), and †Witlége (= Whitley), all of which are situated at a short distance from each other.

Avebury or Abury $(ei(v)b\partial ri)$ W of Marlborough.

1086 de Avreberie DB; 1114 Avesbiria Cal. France; 1189 Aveberia ib.; 1194 Auebia Rot. Cur.; 1227 Avebure Ch. R; 1232 Avebiri ib.; 1253 Avesberia ib.; Hen. III Avene(s)bur, [corrupt] Rot. H; 1256 Avesbyry Pat. R; 1316 Avebury FA; 1404 Avesbury Cal. Inq.

Originally *wt Afan byriz, Afa being recorded as an OE p. n. In some of the ME forms an s has been inserted through the influence of pl. ns, the first elements of which have the strong gen. ending. The first r in the DB form stands for n, this substitution being due to AN influence (see Zachrisson, p. 141, where several analogous cases are given).

Avon on the Lower Avon NE of Chippenham.

688 (juxta flumen) Avene (Abon, Avon) CS no. 71; 940 be Afene ib. no. 752; 1065 Auene (terra) CD no. 817; 1194 de Auene Rot. Cur.; 1262 of Havene Ch. R.

Avon is a Celtic word $(abon\bar{a})$ meaning 'stream', 'river'; see Stokes, p. 10, and Holder. An unetymological h initially before a vowel often occurs in the ME forms of Wilts. names, just as an initial h of the stem may have been omitted (cf. Etchilhampton, Hacklestone, Heddington, Hippenscombe, Oakhill, Upavon, etc.). As far as I have been informed, a certain irregularity in this respect exists in different parts

² E. Ekblom

of the county, but the misuse of initial h seems nowhere to be universal enough to form a dialectal characteristic; see also Kjederqvist §§ 23, 213. In many forms, however, the addition or loss of h may naturally as well be an AN feature.

Axford ENE of Marlborough.

1184 in Axeford Pipe R; 1217 Axeford Pat. R; 1226 Axeford Osmund; 1288 Axeford C. Inq.; 1428 Axeford FA.

If the first element is Germanic 1, there can only be one derivation: owing to the fact that the combination sk in East Wilts is often represented by ks, x [basket often occurs as baxet, ask as ax (< OE acsian, see Kjederqvist § 210), cf. also Wexcombe, below] we are entitled to assume a p. n. *Aska (< Scand. Aski) as the first element. Under the ininfluence of the above-mentioned dialectal peculiarity, an original *Askan ford would give Axford, in the same way as *west-cumb* (after the loss of t) has given Wexcombe* (the termination being retained even after the metathesis).

Badbury SE of Swindon.

955 †Baddeburi, †de Baddeborwe CS no. 904 (prob. identical); 1086 Badeberie DB; 1280 Baddebyr Ch. R; Edw. I Baddebury, Badebery Plac. Warr.; 1324 Baddebury FA; 1330 Baddebury Ch. R; 1428 Badebury FA.

Originally *at Bad(d)an byriz, Bad(d)a being probably a pet-formation of such names as Badufrip (Beadufrip), Bad(u)heard [Bead(u)heard], Badumund; see Müller, pp. 46, 117.

Bapton near Wylye.

1220 Babinton Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1311 Babyngton C. Inq.; 1316 Babington FA; 1329 Babeton C. Inq.; 1362 Babeton Br. Mus.; 1413 Babbeton ib.

¹ This is most probably the case. There is certainly a river name Axe in England which is most likely Celtic, but the Kennet on which Axford lies is not known to have ever had any other name.

From *Babban (or Babbinga) $t\bar{u}n$, Babba being an OE p. n.; cf. Baverstock. b has become unvoiced through assimilation with the following t.

Barbury (Castle) E of Broad Hinton.

[556] æt Beran byrig AS Chr. ms. E [possibly identical]; 1252 Berebyre Br. Mus.; 1428 Berbury FA.

The place where Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons in 556 is located by Thorpe and Plummer (in their editions of AS Chr.) at Barbury Camp, Wilts. Whether this is correct or not is doubtful, but it is most probable that the original form of Barbury was the same as that of the AS Chr. *Bera is probably a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with Ber- e. g. Beruulf (in LVD, see Müller, p. 92), *Berweald (Beruoldus Ellis, Intr. II, p. 295); but it may perhaps also have existed as an independent name (applied to a man famed for his strength). The same name occurs in £tberanforda CS no. 264.

'Castle', which is the general word for ancient protective earthworks and hill forts, refers to the ancient fortifications here, remnants of which are still to be found. There are a great number of such 'Castles' in Wilts. e. g. Bratton C., Liddington C., Oldbury C., Yarnbury C.

Barford St. Martin W of Wilton.

1086 Bereford DB; 1250 Bereford C. Inq.; 1286 Bereford Ch. R (prob. identical); 1304 Berevord St. Martin ib.; 1316 Bereford FA; early Edw. III Barford St. Martin Br. Mus.; 1335 Bereford St. Martin's C. Inq.; 1428 Ber(e)ford FA; 1493 Berford St. Martin C. Inq.

This name goes back either to *Beran ford (see preceding name) or to *bere-ford 'the ford by the barley(-field). 'St. Martin' is the name of a church.

Barford (Park) N of Downton.

1086 Bereford DB; 1428 Bereford FA. See preceding name.

Bathampton, Great and Little $[b \circ p(h) \acute{e}mt'n \text{ or } bed(h) \acute{e}mt'n]$ on the r. Wiley close to Fisherton Delamere.

1194 de Bathāton Rot. Cur.; 1229 Bathamton Pat. R; c. 1270 Bathampton Macray; early 14th cent. Bathamewily TN; 1316 Bathehampton FA; 1328 Bathamwyly C. Inq.; 1367 Batametoune Wyley Phillipps' fines; 1402 Bathampton FA; 1428 Badampton ib.; c. 1430 Batampton Br. Mus.

Hampton, which occurs so frequently both in compounds and alone in English pl. names, goes back either to OE hām-tūn (this seems to be the most usual origin), which may have been analogous in meaning with OE hām-stede (home-stead), or to hēan tūne (dat.) [like Hampton, Worcs. which occurs as (æt) Hean tune CS no. 235]. In this case, however, the low situation of the place excludes the latter possibility (cf. Beckhampton, Ditchampton, Etchilhampton? below, in which hampton has a quite exceptional origin). The pronunciation 'bed'- of the first element is due to weakened stress. Names in -hampton are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable.

Whether the epithet *Bath*- formed part of the original name or not, it is impossible to say.

Baverstock [bævə(r)stŏk] W of Wilton.

968 (†)æt Babanstoce Reg. Wilt.; 1086 Babestoche DB; 1230 in Babestok' Cl. R; c. 1290 Babbestok T. Eccl.; 1428 Babestok FA.

The first element is the p. n. Babba, which occurs also in the adjacent Bapton. The late change of b > v and the insertion of r may be due to the analogy of Laverstock, a parish not far from here (though the change of b > v may be partly a dissimilatory process).

Stock as a first element in pl. ns is as a rule derived from OE stoc(e) [< prim. Germ. *stokko-z], e. g. OE stoc(e)- $t\bar{u}n$ = 'an enclosure fenced in by stocks or posts' (in the same way as $st\bar{a}n$ - $t\bar{u}n$ may denote 'an encl. fenced in by stones').

As a second element, however, and when occurring uncompounded as a pl. n., in which cases it also occurs as stoke, it certainly represents OE stoe [< prim. Germ. *stoko-z] (stoke from the OE dat. form); the few OE references to this word, apart from pl. ns, are quoted by Napier, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. 1903—06, p. 323, and Swaen, Engl. Stud. 37, p. 191. Note also (I faderr) stoke, Ormulum 9778, and stokess (plur.) ib. 1049, 15694. The meaning of this word seems to have been much the same as OE stede, stōw (in Ormulum the word means 'place')¹.

Attention may here be called to the serious mistake in Bosworth-Toller (and Swaen) of assuming an OE $st\bar{o}e$ as the origin of stock, stoke; for even though the nom. form might have given NE stock (by shortening), the OE dat. form would never have given NE stoke, but *stook. It is also quite impossible to assume, as scholars generally do, an OE *stoce as a dat. form of stoc(e), as double consonants could not be simplified in the spelling of oblique cases.

Note. Middendorff's opinion (which seems to be adopted from Jellinghaus) that OE stoc(c) in pl. ns indicates 'eine Örtlichkeit mit den Resten eines abgeholzten Waldes' can hardly be correct. It is obvious that OE stoc(c)-wudu denotes a place where a wood had been cut down, in the same way as stoc(c)-lēah may be 'a meadow with stumps of trees', but there is no reason to assume that stoc(c) alone could have that sense. Nor is it possible to adopt the suggestion of Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 320, repeated in Förstemann, Ortsn. p. 896, that OE stoc(c) as a first element in pl. ns could mean 'Stamm', 'Geschlecht', denoting that the place in question would be 'die Mutterstadt eines Distriktes'.

¹ Curiously enough, the element in question, which is so prevalent in Engl. place-nomenclature, seems to be entirely absent in the pl. ns of the other Germanic countries. For the few German names in which stock occurs as a second element or uncompounded, see Förstemann, Ortsn. p. 896. In Scand. pl. ns it does not seem to occur as a second element at all. For its further occurrence se e. g. Rygh, Forord og Indledn. p. 79.

Baycliff S of Horningsham.

early Hen. III in Bayleelive Br. Mus.; 1316 de Baylleselyve FA; 1386 in Bayleselyfe Cat. A. D.; 1428 Baileelyf FA.

The most probable etymology is $*B\bar{e}azeles$ ($B\bar{e}azelan$) elif, $B\bar{e}azel(a)$ being a diminutive form of $*B\bar{e}aza$, a pet-form of such p. ns as $B\bar{e}azmund$, $B\bar{e}azstan$; see Müller, p. 78.

Note. Baildon, W. Riding of Yorks., probably contains the same first element as the name above. Moorman's suggestions on this name seem too improbable to be trusted. Baycliff, Lancs. is of a quite different origin; see Wyld.

Baydon N of Ramsbury.

1146 Beidona Macray; 1226 Beidon Osmund; 1294 Beydon Ch. R; 1316 Bedon FA.

I suggest an original * $B\bar{e}azan\ d\bar{u}n$. For * $B\bar{e}aza$ see preceding name. OE $d\bar{u}n$ (NE down) is generally supposed to be of Celtic origin. Bedon (FA) may be an example of the AN spelling habits of rendering ai, ei by e, mentioned by Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V. p. 16.

Baynton NE of Westbury.

1185 de Beinton' Pipe R; 1330 Benton Cl. R., C. Inq.; 1428 Beynton FA; [n. d.] de Beyntone Reg. Malm.

This name seems to contain the same first element as Baydon and is consequently to be derived from *Bēazan tūn. For the retention of -n- cf. Bincknoll, Cadnam, Chippenham, Harnham, Mildenhall, Newnton, etc., below. The fact that OE -an in these names had two different functions — being in some cases the gen. ending of a weak p. n., in others the dat. ending of an adjective — was naturally in sufficient to prevent a development on similar lines.

Beanacre $[bi(j)neik\flat(r)]$ N of Melksham.

1261 Benaer' R fin. exc.; 1286 Benaere Ch. R; Edw. I Benakere Rot. H; Beneaere Abbr. Plac.

'Bean-field'. OE æcer meant 1) 'a piece of tilled land, a field'; 2) 'a definite measure of land, originally as much as a yoke of oxen could plough in a day' (NED). The OE compound *beanland (beanlandes) occurs in CD no. 724.

Beckhampton (- - -) near Avebury.

1086 Bachentune DB; 1199? de Bachamtoñ Rot. Cur.; Hen. III Bechampton Abbr. Plac.; 1240—45 de Bachamptone Macray; 1266 Bechampton Pat. R; 1314 Bachamptone C. Inq.; 1316 Bakhampton FA; 1428 Bachampton ib.; 1485 Bakehamton C. Inq.; 1493 Bakehampton ib.; 1596 Backhampton Br. Mus.

Originally *Bac(e)an $t\bar{u}n$, Bac(e)a being an OE p. n., recorded in LVD, see Müller, p. 46. $-an + t\bar{u}n$ was, however, soon associated with the common name element ham(p)ton, and, in accordance with such names, the stress has here also been shifted to the syllable -ham-; hence Back-> Beck-.

Bedwyn, Great and Little SW of Hungerford (Berks.).

778 (†)Bedewinde, (†)in bedewindan CS no. 225; 803—805 (†)Bedewinde ib. no. 324; 880—85 (†)æt Bedewindan ib. no. 553, p. 178; (†)Bedewynde ib. no. 554, p. 182; 968 (†)Bedewinde, (to) Bed(e)uuindan ib. no. 1213 (prob. identical); Æthelred (†)Bedeuuinde CD no. 1312; (n. d.) (†)Bedewinde CD no. 941 (possibly identical); 1086 Bedvinde (twice), ad Bedvine DB; 1158 of Bedewinde Osmund; 1177 Estbedewinda (= Little Bedw.) Pipe R; 1194 Bedewinde Rot. Cur.; 1199 Bedewyna Cat. Rot. Ch.; 1230—40 Bedewind Macray; 1234 Bidewind Cl. R; 1310 Estbedewynde C. Inq.; 1376 Bydwynde Cal. Inq.; 1441 Westbedwynd Br. Mus.; 1484 Bedewen ib.

This can hardly be anything but the plant-name bedwine or bedwind, which exists as a dialect word in Wilts. and other southern counties indicating some common species of 'Convolvulus'; see EDD. cf. Swedish vinda, German Winde. This was consequently a place, where a rich growth of this

plant was found. It seems as if the sing, form of the word had been used here originally, which in that case must have been taken collectively (cf. Bremhill). The loss of final d after l, n is characteristic of this dialect; see Ellis, p. 42 f., Kjederqvist, p. 101. Contrary to Baddeley, p. 17, I take Bedwins, Glos. to be of the same origin.

Note. On account of the etymology of Bedwyn given above it is evident that Plummer's identification of Biedan heafde (AS Chr. A. D. 675) with this place must be erroneous.

Beechingstoke ESE of Devizes.

1086 Bichenestoch DB; c. 1290 Bichenestok T. Eccl.; 1316 de Stoke FA; 1428 in Bychenestoke, in Stoke, de Bechynstoke ib.; 1442 Bychyngstoke Cal. Inq.

From an original *et Byc(e)inges (or *Byc(e)inga) stoce, Byc(e)ing being the regular patronymic of the OE p. n. Buc(e)a. The long vowel in the first syllable of the modern form is certainly due to popular etymology (the name having been connected with NE beech).

Bemerton [bemo(r)t'n] WNW of Salisbury.

1086 Bimertone, in Bermentone DB; 1287 Bymerton C. Inq.; c. 1290 Bym̃tone T. Eccl.; 1300 Beomertonam (Lat. acc.) Ch. R; 1316 Bumerton FA; 1324 Bymerton C. Inq.; 1326 Bymerton Pat. R; 1402, 1428 Bymerton FA; 1493 Bemerton C. Inq.

The original form was most probably *Bcornmæres tūn, Beornmær being a p. n. found on an AS coin of the time of King Alfred. The u- and y-vowels are to be explained as follows. It is a known fact that OE ēo is sometimes in ME rendered by u (AN spelling) [also by o, oe], which are taken to represent the transitional sound [æ] between OE ēo and ME ē (OE beorn occurs occasionally in ME as burn, deore as dure, etc.) see Bülbring, Bonner Beitr. zur Angl. XV: vii, Schlemilch pp. 32, 38. The erroneous use of ME y must be due to the presence of this u, which has

been assumed by the scribe to represent OE y (cf. ME byrn < OE beorn, dyrk < OE deorc.).

The i in Bimertone (DB) must be a mistake for e, as eo is not otherwise known to represent i in DB, and n for r in the other DB form, if not a mere error, is to be explained as an AN substitution; see Zachrisson, p. 141 ff.

Bentley Wood E of Salisbury.

1178? Bentleswuda Br. Mus.; 1224 Bentlewud R. L. Cl.; Hen. III Bentlewode Rot. H; 1270 Bentelleswod, Bentelwoda Ch. R.

Bentley certainly goes back to an original **et [pām, pāre] beonet-lēaze; cf. Bentley, Worcs. (*et Beonetlage CS no. 1087); Bentley, Suffolk (*Benetleia DB, Benetlei TN). OE beonet (NE bent) is only recorded in pl. ns (see 'bent' NED).

Berwick Basset (barik, berik) N of Avebury.

1206 Berewyc Br. Mus.; 1221 Berewyk, Berewich Macray; 1231 Berewic Ch. R; 1271 Berewyk C. Inq.; 1316 de Berwike FA; 1325 Berwyk Basset Ch. R.

Berwick is a very common pl. n. all over England and goes back to OE berewie, a compound of bere = 'barley' and wie = '(dwelling-)place', 'habitation'. A berewie may therefore have been either 'a barley farm' or 'a shed in which barley was stored'. In NED berwick, berewick is stated to be obsolete and is translated by 'demesne farm'. Jones, p. xxi points out another sense which the word seems to have had in the time of Domesday. On the ground of such expressions in DB as 'Ad hoc manerium pertinent 4 berewicæ (I, 128 b) and Ad hoc man. jacuit et jacet una Berewica — — (I, 129 b), he takes the word to have indicated 'a small farm, subordinate to a manor'. The explosive in wick is due to the OE inflected cases; see Cornelius, and Björkman, Loanwords, p. 145.

'Basset(t)' is an AN family name. Other estates in Wilts.,

which have been in possession of members of this family, are Compton B., Easton B., Winterbourne B., and Wootton B.

Berwick St. James ENE of Wylye.

C. 1190 Berewyk Sancti Jacobi Macray; 1316 de Berewike FA; 1324 Beriwyk ib.; 1428 Berwyk (Sancti Jacobi) ib.

Berwick St. John E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1267 de Berewyke S. Johannis Macray; 1316 de Berewyke FA; 1428 Berewyk Sancti Johannis ib.

Berwick St. Leonard E of Hindon.

1428 Berwyk Sancti Leonardi FA.

The distinctive names of these three places refer to churches.

Beversbrook [bijvo(r)sbruk] NE of Calne.

1086 Bevresbroc, Brevresbrok DB; 1240—45 Beverbrok Macray; 1316, 1428 (de) Beveresbroke FA; 1437 (of) Beverisbroke Cat. A. D.

Originally *et beofores bröce, bröce referring to a little tributary of the Marden, now called 'Fisher's brook'. The first r in Brevresbroc (DB) is merely orthographic.

Biddestone [bidst'n] W of Chippenham.

1086 Bedestone DB; 1181 de Bedeston' Pipe R; 1215 in Buddeston' R. L. Cl.; 1216 de Betesdoù ib.; 1258 Budeston C. Inq.; 1285 Budisdene Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1288 Byddiston Dugdale; Edw. I Budeston Br. Mus.; 1307 Budeston C. Inq.; 1316 Budeston FA; 1321 Butteston Fine R. [prob. identical]; 1351 Buduston Br. Mus.; 1428 Butteston FA; 1464 Buddeston Br. Mus.

Probably from $*B\check{y}dan\ t\bar{u}n$ (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen.; see Alexander, Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 70). For the p. n. Byda, which is recorded in LVD, see Müller, p. 49.

The *e* of the first syllable in some of the earliest forms above stands for *i* and may, on account of the early date of the references, be due to French influence (see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 10). It is to be noticed in this connection, however, that there also exists in different parts of the county a well-marked tendency to change *i* into *e*, and even many of the ME forms that show this change may be explained as having been affected by this tendency (cf. e. g. Brinkworth, Chicklade, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Chitterne, Chittoe, Fittleton, Grittleton, Lydiard, Smithcot, Tedworth).

The change from d > t in two of the forms above may be due to assimilation with the following s (the medial e having been syncopated).

It is obvious that confusion of -ton, preceded by -s-, and -stone must be very frequent in Engl. pl. ns.

Bincknoll SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 in Bechenhalle DB; 1251 Benecnoll Ch. R; 1279 Benknolle Br. Mus.; 1284 Benknoll R Pat.; early 14th cent. Brencholl TN; 1316 de Benknelle FA; 1362 Beneknoll, Bienknolle Cl. R; 1367 Bikenolle Cal. Inq.; 1428 (in) Bienknolle, de Brenknolle FA; c. 1430 Byngknoll Br. Mus.

The DB form suggests an original *Beccan heall. OE heall = 'palace', 'residence'. Becca, which also appears in the local names Beccan ford(a) CS no. 309, Beccan lea ib. no. 553, and beccan leahe ib. no. 1282 p. 586, was the name of a king in Widsith. This is another example in which the OE gen. -n is retained. The development has then been as follows: After the loss of e, metathesis has taken place so as to give a form *Benkolle (the second syllable weakened), which at a time must have existed side by side with *Beknolle (Bikenolle Cal. Inq.). Out of these two forms has then arisen a contaminated form Benknolle, Bincknoll. For the transition of e > i see Morsbach § 109. Brenk- for Benk- is probably due to association with the subst. brenk, brink.

Bishop's Cannings NE of Devizes.

1086 Cainingham DB; 1091 Caninges Osmund; 1139? Canenghis Macray; 1146 Canninges ib.; 1148 Caningas ib.; 1161 Canengis Br. Mus.; 1173 Caning Osmund; 1226 Kaning ib.; Edw. I in Kaningge Plac. Warr.; 1286 Caningges Macray; 1294 Canyng Episcopi Ch. R; 1296 Canygges Bishop's Pat. R; 1316 Canynges FA; 1428 Cannyng ib.; 1491 Bishops Canynges C. Ing.

See All Cannings. The badly spelt DB form may naturally represent an older *Caninga hām, but it may also be a corruption of an OE dat. plur. form *æt Caningum. The term 'Bishop's' refers to the Bishop of Sarum, the chief tenant here in the time of Domesday.

Bishopstone E of Swindon.

1227 Bissopestun Osmund; c. 1290 de Bissopestone T. Eccl.; 1294 Bisshopeston Ch. R; 1300 Bysshopeston ib.

Originally *bisc(e)opes $t\bar{u}n$. This is another example, in which -s- has later on been added to the suffix, whence -stone.

Bishopstone S of Wilton.

1227 Bissopeston Ch. R; 1243 Bissopiston Pat. R; 1316 Bisshopeston FA; 1324 de Byschopestone ib.; 1428 Bysshopeston, Buschopeston ib.; 1534 Bussheton Br. Mus.

See preceding name. For the form Bussheton cf. Bushton, below.

Bishopstrow SE of Warminster.

1086 Biscopestreu DB; 1144 bissoppestreu Round, Ancient ch.; 1194 Bisuppestru, Bissupestru Rot. Cur.; Hen. III Bissopestru Br. Mus.; 1236 Bisshopestre Ch. R; 1270 in Byscoppestrewe ib.; c. 1290 de Bissoppestrowe, Bissopestre T. Eccl.; 1300 Trowe Pat. R. (prob. identical); Edw. I Bissupestreo Br. Mus.; 1316 de Bisshoppestrowe FA; 1365 by Busshepestrowe Cl. R.

From *bisc(e)opes trēow (trēow here probably = cross). Jones, p. 199, is of opinion that a cross may have stood

here as a memorial of Aldhelm, the well-known abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, to whom the church is dedicated. OE -trēow has become -trow by change of stress.

Blackland SE of Calne.

1194 Blakeland Rot. Cur.; 1218 Blakeland Macray; c. 1290 de Blockelonde, Blakelond T. Eccl.; 1316 de Blacklonde FA; 1428 Blackelond ib.

Originally **pæt blắce land (OE blæc and blāc being help-lessly confused with each other). This name can hardly denote anything but 'a tract, covered with dark forests'. Guest, p. 254, points out the great probability of a line of forest having stretched almost uninterruptedly from the extensive Bradon forest in north Wilts. to Selwood forest in the south-west. Blackland and Blackmore (below) in that case certainly formed part of this wooded district.

Blackmore NE of Melksham.

1338 de Blakhemore Pat. R.

This name answers to an OE *se blăca mōr; OE mōr = 'a tract of waste (damp) ground'. See preceding name.

Blunsdon, Broad and Blunsdon St. Andrew N of Swindon. 1086 Blontesdone, Bluntesdone DB; 1177 de Bluntesden Pipe R; 1207 in Bluntesdon Rot. Ch.; 1262 Brodebluntesdon C. Inq.; early 14th cent. Hangindebluntesdon TN; 1316 de Bluntesdone Sancti Leonardi, B. Sancti Andree FA; 1326 Blountesdon C. Inq.; 1328 Blontesdone ib.; 1379 Blontesdon Sci. Andree Br. Mus.; 1428 Blontesdon, de Bluntesdone FA; 1650 Blountesdon, Blundeston Br. Mus.

The first element is, no doubt, the gen. of the French p. n. Blund (Blond, Blont, Blunt) [< med. Lat. blundus, blondus]; see Hildebrand, p. 331. This name, which occurs at a later date as a family name in Wilts. as well as in other parts of England, is not to be confused with the W.

Scand, nickname Blundr (from the subst. blundr =slumber). The termination is OE $d\bar{u}n$.

The distinctive term in TN indicates 'situation on a steep slope'; cf. Hanging Langford. *Hangindebluntesdon* may be identical with the two farms in Blunsdon which are now called 'The Hangings'. 'St. Andrew' is the name of a church.

Boscombe SE of Amesbury.

1086 Boscumbe (twice) DB; 1178? Boscumba Br. Mus.; 1199 in Borscumbe, in Boxcumb Rot. Cur.; 1218—28 Boscumbe Macray; 1270 Boscumba Ch. R; 1286 Boscumbe ib.; Edw. I de Borscumbe Rot. H; c. 1290 Bosscumbe, Borscumbe T. Eccl.; 1328 Borscombe Phillipps' fines; 1362 Borscombe Cal. Inq.; 1364 Borscombe (several times) Cl. R; 1386 Borscombe Cal. Inq.; 1428 Boscombe FA; 1540 Borscombe Dugdale.

Judging from the DB form and the other forms without r, it would seem as if the name contained the OE p. n. Bosa, occurring among other places in LVD, but on the other hand it cannot be a mere chance that r is found in so many ME forms. An independent p. n. which would fit in here is certainly not on record, but it seems not improbable that *Bora might have been used in OE times as a nickname of a 'horn-bora', 'mund-bora', 'sweord-bora', etc. Boscombe may therefore be derived from $*Boran\ eumb$ (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen. ending, and assimilation of r to s). Cf. the local $\dagger to\ Boresburghe\ CS$ nos. 34, 563, $\dagger on\ bores\ welle$ ib. no. 776. Boxcumbe (T. Eccl.) may have been affected by the same dialectal influence that gave x in Axford and Wexcombe.

Note. Kemble's identification of *botes cumb CD no. 396, mentioned among the boundaries of the land at (Steeple) Langford on the Wiley, with this place cannot possibly be correct.

Bottlesford W of Pewsey.

892 †to botan welle CS no. 567; 933 to botan wylle CS no. 699.

Hoare, in his edition of Reg. Wilt., has called attention to the probability that the modern Bottlesford is situated at the place to which these two ancient names refer, and there seems to be really no doubt at all about this identity. The original sense was thus 'Bota's well', Bota being probably a pet-form of such names as Botwine, Botwulf, etc.; see Müller, p. 48. -wælle CS no. 567 is not an original spelling [in OE wæll(e) is the Angl. equivalent of WS wiell(e), wyll(e); see Bülbring § 175]. At what time -ford was added I have not been able to find out. The insertion of -s- is due to the influence of pl. ns containing a first element with a gen. s.

Bowden SW of Calne.

1371 Bouedon Cat. A. D.

Either from $*Buzan\ d\bar{u}n$, or from $*Bofan\ d\bar{u}n$. Buza, Bofa being OE p. ns, here probably denoting the same Buza (Bofa) as occurs in the adjoining Bowood (see below). For the development of $*Bofan\ d\bar{u}n$ into $Bowden\ cf$. Coulston, below. The fact that the place is situated on a plateau proves that the second element was originally $d\bar{u}n$.

Bower Chalk SW of Broad Chalk.

955 †æt Cheolcum, †æt Cheolcum CS no. 917; 974 †Cheolca (Lat. form), †to Cheolcan ib. 1304; 1086 Chelche DB (including also Broad Ch.); 1175 de Chelke Pipe R (or = Broad Ch.), 1226 in Chalk R. L. Cl. (or = Broad Ch.); e. 1290 Chelk T. Eccl. (or = Broad Ch.); 1316 de Burchalke FA; 1377 Bourchalk Phillipps' fines; 1428 Borchalk FA; 1455 Burghchalke Cal. Inq.; 1476 Burgchalke ib.; 1481 Bery Chalke ib.

The CS forms above (which, no doubt, also refer to Broad Chalk) cannot possibly be correctly spelt. They certainly stand for *Cealc, *æt (pæm) Cealcum [= 'the chalk-down(s)']. Bower and Broad Chalk are situated in the so-called White

Chalk district, for the extent of which see Heath, p. 17. Cheolean CS no. 1304 no doubt represents the OE dat. plur. The DB form implies a late OE *celc, see Bülbring § 314. The phonetic value of initial ch in DB before e and i is usually [k]; see Zachrisson, p. 34. In addition to the present DB form there are, however, several instances in this treatise of che-, chi-, for OE (tfe), (tfi); see Chaddenwicke, Chedglow, Cheverell, Chilmark, Chippenham, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Chisledon. The spelling che-, chi- in question seems consequently not to be quite so uncommon as appears from Zachrisson's statement. p. 25.

The distinctive name was originally ME burgh (< OE burh) which has later on been confused with bour, bower. For this confusion cf. Burton, below. Bower Chalk appears to have been the site of an ancient camp.

Bowood SW of Calne.

13th cent. Bowoda Liber rub.; 1319 Bouewode Pat. R. From *Buzan wudu or *Bofan wudu; see Bowden.

Box N of Bradford.

1144 Boczā Round, Ancient ch. (identical acc. to the editor); 1181 La Boxe Pipe R; late 12th cent. La boxa Br. Mus.; Hen. III Boxa ib.; 1249 in Boxle C. Inq.; 1258 La Boxe ib.; 1316 de Boxe FA.

OE box (= box-tree). This word occurs in several Engl. pl. ns. $Bocz\bar{a}$ and Boxle seem to represent an older *box- $h\bar{a}m$ and *box- $l\bar{e}ah$ respectively.

For the French def. article in English pl. ns see Zachrisson, Anglia XXXIV.

Boyton SE of Heytesbury.

1086 Boientone DB; 1130—35 Bointon Osmund; 13th cent. Bointone Liber rub.; 1252 Boyton Ch. R; Edw. I Boynton Rot. H; 1316 Boyton FA.

From *Boian tūn, Boia (Boiza) being a Continental p. n. of Celtic origin; see Forssner, p. 51.

Bradenstoke [breid'nstouk] SW of Wootton Bassett.

1086 Bradenestoch, Stoche (prob. identical) DB 69 c; 1203 Bradenestoke Rot. Ch.; 1204 Bradenestok R. L. Pat.; 1232 Bradenestok Ch. R; 1285 Bradenestock, in Bradenestoke ib.; 1290 Bradestok Cl. R; 1318 Bradestok Pat. R; 1339 Bradinstok Cl. R; 1487 of Bradnestoke C. Inq.; 1495 of Bradenestoke ib.

It seems quite certain that the original name of this place was simply *at ($p\bar{e}m$) stoce (for OE stoc, see Baverstock), which became Bradenstoke later because of its situation in the Bradon (Braden) forest (see Braydon, below).

Bradfield SW of Malmesbury.

1086 Bradefelde DB; 1428 Bradefeld FA.

Originally *se brāda feld ('the wide field'). In connection with this name attention may be drawn to a strange mistake in Wyld, pp. 25, 297, where Brad- in pl. ns is explained from an uninflected OE $br\bar{a}d$ - with shortening of \bar{a} before the -d, followed by another consonant, and Broad- from an inflected form. There is no evidence for such a state-The most natural and only possible way is to assume an original definite form for both cases. If we start with an early ME Brādefeld (< OE *se brada feld), then either the \bar{a} (in an open syllable) is shortened in accordance with Luick's theory, or, on the other hand, if the medial -e- was lost before this happened, the \bar{a} would still be shortened because of its position before two consonants (cf. Aldbourne). The forms in Broad- are on the other hand due to the influence of the independent adjective. In the same incorrect way are explained Lang- and Long- in pl. ns (Wyld, p. 367).

Bradford(-on-Avon) NW of Trowbridge.

[652] æt Bradan forda be Afne AS Chr. [Ā]; 705 †Bradanford (†Bradeneforde) CS no. 114; 1001 †æt Bradeforda CD. no. 3 E. Ekblom

706; 1086 Bradeford DB; 1130 Bradeford H. Pipe R;
 Hen. III Bradeford Br. Mus.; 1316 Bradford FA.
 No comments needed.

Bradley, North S of Trowbridge.

c. 1291 de Bradeleye T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Bradele FA. From an original *æt þæm (þære) brādan lēaze; (OE lēah = meadow, arable land).

Bratton ENE of Westbury.

1249 Bratton C. Inq.; 1255 in Bretton R. fin. exc.; 1256 Bretton Pat. R; 1257? (versus) Bratthonam Macray; 1267 Bretton Pat. R; 1275 Bratton C. Inq.; 1304 Bratton Ch. R; early 14th cent. Bretton TN; 1316 de Brattone FA.

Undoubtedly from *se $br\bar{a}da\ t\bar{u}n$. The forms with e, if not merely spelling mistakes, may be explained as due to association with the corresponding ME subst. $br\bar{e}de=$ 'breath'; cf. Lindkvist, p. 28, foot-note 1.

Braydon E of Malmesbury.

688 (silva) †Bradon CS no. 70; 796 (silva) †Braden ib. no. 279; 901 †Bradene(weye) ib. no. 586; (circa) Bradenam Asser; [905] on Bradene AS Chr. [Ā]; on Brædene ib. [D]; 1065 †Bradon CD no. 817; 1230 (forest of) Braden Br. Mus.; 1236 de Bradon' Cl. R; 1281 (forest of) Braden(e) C. Inq.; 1328 Braden Ch. R; 1364 of Bradenne Cl. R.

This name was formerly applied to the extensive woodland which occupied nearly the whole of the north of Wilts. (for its boundaries see Akerman, Archaeologia XXXVII). Braydon cannot possibly be derived from *seo brāde dūn (or dene), as the Parker ms. [Ā] of AS Chr. in that case would certainly have shown that form. The first element is no doubt of Celtic origin, and I am even inclined to believe that -dene of the OE forms above stands for an

¹ Mr. J. C. Longstaff has certainly informed me that a lends to e in the west Wilts, dialect, but that this tendency is not well marked. Bratton is at the present day pronounced bræt n.

older $-d\bar{u}n(e)$. Confusion between $d\bar{u}n$ and dene (denu) is very common in pl. ns, and it seems by no means impossible that a substitution may have taken place even in OE. ay in the modern form must be a phonetic spelling (the original a having been lengthened in an open syllable); cf. Laycock, below.

Bremhill E of Chippenham.

937 Breomel, Bremel, Broemel CS nos. 716, 717; 1065 Bremela (latinized) CD no. 817; 1086 Breme (corrupt) DB; 1194 Bremleia (prob. identical), Bromel Rot. Cur.; 1219 Bremel Macray; 1226 Bremleshill Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1233 Bremble Macray; 1316 Bromell FA; 1428 Bremel, de Bremele ib.: 1468 Bremhill Br. Mus.; 1540 Bremyll Dugdale.

OE brēmel, brēmel¹ (bræmbel), [< prim. Germ. *brēmilo-z] = 'bramble'. eo and oe in Brcomel, Broemel no doubt represent the sound æ (see Bülbring § 166). The form Bromel(l) is due to confusion with the cognate broom (< prim. Germ. brēmo-z). -hill is consequently not original but a late development, due to popular etymology (the village being situated on a hill). Cf. Cherhill, Fonthill, below.

Bremhill Wick NW of Bremhill.

1426 Bramelwik Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Wyke FA.

Originally this place was certainly called simply *wic, *et ($\hbar\bar{e}m$) wice; in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name it was then called Bremhill Wick, because of its proximity to Bremhill (cf. Farleigh Wick, Haydon Wick, etc.). Bramel- is based upon an OE bræmel with shortening of \bar{e} before ml (in oblique cases).

Bremilham SW of Malmesbury.

1065 Bremelham CD no. 817; 1178? Brumilham Br. Mus.; 1199 Brumelham Rot. Ch.; Brumelhā Rot. Cur.; 1218 Bremelam Macray; 1270 Brimelham Ch. R; 1404 Bremulham Cal. Inq.; [n. d.] Bremelham, Brumelham Reg. Malm.

¹ On this form see Bülbring § 192, anm.

Originally *brēmel-(bræmel-)hām. The second element may have been OE hām (= home, dwelling) as well as ham(m) as it is obvious that in most cases it is impossible to distinguish these words in pl. ns. The latter is connected with German hemmen (to 'hem in') [< prim. Germ. *hammjan], and its original meaning may therefore have been 'a meadow (near water) enclosed and defended by a ditch or paling'; see NED, Bosworth-Toller, and Wyld, p. 342. Ham(m) still exists as a dialectal word in the southern counties, indicating 'flat, low-lying pasture land near a stream'.

The u in Brumelham stands for y (< i), the latter vowel having been looked upon as original. According to Morsbach § 109, a change of e > i is not to be expected in a position before m, but in note I of the same paragraph, ME brimbel is stated as a sporadic form of brembel, and NED quotes ME brimbel as well as brymble.

Bremilham is also called 'Cowage': see below.

Bridmore E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1312 Brudemere Pat. R; 1318 Brudemere C. Inq.; 1428 Brydmere FA.

Most probably from *Brydan mære (= zemære). An OE p. n. *Bryda is certainly not on record, but the existence of such a name is indicated by the local Brydancumbe CS no. 714 (= Burcombe, Wilts.), and brydinga die ib. no. 917. †bridinghe dich ib. no. 970, both obviously representing the same earthwork in the vicinity of Bridmore. Was *Bryda possibly a pet-name formation of bryd-guma? cf. *Cyppa, which may perhaps be considered as a shortened form of cypman; see under Chippenham.

Brigmerston [brigma(r)st'n] N of Amesbury.

1086 Brismartone DB; 1199 in Brictmariston Rot. Ch.; 1270 Briggemareston Ch. R; 1273 Bryhtmerston, Brigemarston C. Inq.; Edw. I Brichmston, de Bristmeston' Plac. Warr.: 1316 Brightmershton FA; 1361 Bryghtmanston (n mistake

for r) Cal. Inq.; 1428 Brightmerston FA; (n. d.) Brihtmarestun Cat, A. D.

From *Beorhtmæres tūn. Beorhtmær (later Brihtmer) was a common OE p. n., of which Brismar (<*Bristmar) is the AN rendering 1. (Perhaps the place got its name from the Brismar who was a land-holder here in the time of Edw. Confessor.) After the loss of t in ME, the fricative (χ) was voiced and then changed into the corresponding explosive g (on account of the difficulty of pronouncing gh before m) cf. the transition of $\delta > d$ before s in Alvediston, $\chi > k$ before s in Brixton, and h > t before f in Ratfyn. The spelling sh for s in the FA form of 1316 is due to the influence of the common ME Mershton (< OE mersc-tūn). Brigmilston, as the place is sometimes called, is due to the neighbouring Milston.

Brinkworth NW of Wootton Bassett.

1065 †Brinkewrða CD no. 817; 1086 Brenchewrde, Brecheorde (corrupt) DB; 1194 de Brincewrthe, de Brinkewrth, de Brinkewrthe Rot. Cur.; 1220—25 Brinkeworth Osmund; c. 1290 Brenkew'rth T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Brunkwurth TN; 1316 de Brynkeworthe FA; 1340 Brenkeworth Ch. R; [n. d.] in Breynkewrthe Reg. Malm.

'The homestead on the brink', the place being situated on the extremity of the ridge of a down. Brink (= the edge, or border of a steep place) is suggested by Björkman to be a Scand. loan (Loanwords, p. 232). This would be curious, however, as there are no other Scand. elements (except Scand. p. ns) in Wilts. pl. ns. As to e for i in some ME forms see under Biddestone. Brunk- (in TN) stands for Brynk-.

¹ Cf. Brislinga, Bristelme(s)tune DB = Brightling, Brighton, Sussex; Bristelmestone DB = Brightlampton, Oxfs.; Dreslin(g)tone DB = Drighlington W. R. of Yorks., etc.

Britford or Burford SE of Salisbury.

670 (†)to Bryt. ford(ingea landscære) CS no. 27; 826 †to brutforda ib. no. 391; 905 (†)to bryt ford(inga land sceare) ib. no. 690; 997 (†)to Brytford(inga landsceare) CD no. 698; [1065] †æt Brytfordan AS Chr. [C] (possibly identical); 1086 Bretford (twice), Bredford (twice) DB; c. 1115 Britford Osmund; 1158 Brutford ib.; 1200—10 Bretford ib.; 1235 Bretford Macray; 1273 Brutford, Bredford C. Inq.; Edw. I Britford Br. Mus.; 1315 Brutford ib.; 1486 Birtford C. Inq.; 1491 in Byrtforde ib., 1494 Birtford ib.

Originally *Brytta (Britta, Bretta) ford, or Brytford (Bretford) = 'the ford of the Britons'. The latter form is assumed on account of bretland', which occurs in Orosius. With regard to the AS Chr. form there is no doubt that the original ms. had *aet Bryt(ta)forda which the ME scribe took to be an OE nom. and therefore treated as belonging to the weak declension; [cf. Cellanwirdan (Chelworth), which may be due to a latinized *Cellanwirda].

The modern variant Burford is easily explained from the same OE form: *Bryt(ta)ford > ME Byrtford > *Burtford (AN spelling) > Burford, the first element of which has been associated with the common Bur- (< OE burh) in pl. ns. Cf. Burcombe, below, Burlington, a variant of Bridlington, E. R. of Yorks. (DB Bretlinton), and Burcot, Oxfs. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.). On the AN interchange of t and d in final position see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note.

Brixton Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 Devrel DB 68 c.²; c. 1290 de Brightrichestone, Brighricheston T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Brichtricheston TN;

² All the five Deverills (Brixton D., Hill D., Kingston D., Longbridge D., and Monkton D.) are certainly represented in DB,

¹ This form is certainly genuine and not to be derived from an earlier *bretta land. The compound was probably formed at a very early period, before the Celtic bret had yet adopted OE endings.

1316 Brighteston FA; 1428 Bryghteston, Brighricheston ib.; 1435 Brighston Deverell Cal. Inq.; 1442 Brighteston Deverell R. Pat.

This place has been widely considered to be identical with Ecgbryhtes stan (be eastan Seal wyda) AS Chr. [$\bar{\rm A}$] A. D. 878. As far as the names are concerned, however, this identification cannot be right, for Brixton is evidently derived from *Beorhtrices (Brihtrices) $t\bar{u}n$ (Beorhtric perhaps identical with the Brietric who, according to DB, was the tenant here in the time of Edward Confessor). After contraction to Bright(e)ston, t has been lost, and Brighston has then become Brixton; see Jespersen 2, 324, Horn § 253.

Deverill, the name of the stream on which this place and the other Deverills are situated, must be Celtic and may possibly be cognate with Celtic dubro-n, Welsh dwfr, dwr = 'water' (usually occuring as Dover in modern names); see Stokes, p. 153. The oldest form of Deverill that has been found is Defereal (anglicized), mentioned in a charter of King Eadgar, dated 968 (Reg. Wilt.).

Broad Chalk SW of Wilton.

1316 de Chalke FA; 1415 Brodechalke Cat. A. D.; 1440 Brodechalke Cal. inq. da. See Bower Chalk.

Broad Hinton SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 Hantone [prob. identical], Hentone DB 71 a, c.; 1232, 1236 Henton Ch. R; c. 1250 Henton Br. Mus.; 1316 Henton FA; 1333 Brodehenton Phillipps' fines; 1428 Henton Columbers, H. Waas FA.

From an original * αt $p\bar{e}m$ $h\bar{e}an$ $t\bar{u}ne$. The place has an elevated situation on the ledge of a chalk-down. The

where they occur as simply *Devrel*; but it is rather difficult to decide which of these places each *Devrel* (in DB) refers to. In the present case, however, the identity seems indicated by the fact that *Brictric* is mentioned as tenant.

a-form in DB is due to an earlier shortening of the OE diphthong. For the transition of e > i see Morsbach § 109.

'Columbers' (Columbels) and 'Waas' (Wace) are AN surnames.

Broad Town SE of Wootton Bassett.

1220 de la Bradetune Cat. A. D.; 1230 in Bradeton' Cl. R; 1271 Brodeton C. Inq.; 1274 La Bradeton Cl. R; 1300 in Brodetoune Ch. R; 1322 Broddeton Pat. R; 1324 de Brodetone FA; 1428 Brodetoun ib.

*se brāda tūn, which may give Bratton as well as Broad Town; see under Bradfield.

Brokenborough NW of Malmesbury.

956 †Brokeneberga, †Brokeneber(eg)ge CS nos. 921, 922; 1065 †Brokeneberge CD no. 817; 1086 Brocheneberge DB; c. 1125 Brocheneberg W. Malm.; 1185 Brokenesberga Pipe R; 1232 Brokenburgh Ch. R; 1235 in Brokeberwe Cl. R; 1251 in Brokeberge Pat. R; c. 1290 Brokeneborwe T. Eccl.; 1316 de Brokenborowe FA; 1340 Brokenbergh Ch. R; 1421 Brokynborgh Cat. A. D.; 1428 Brokynborgh, Brokynbergh FA; (n. d.) in Brokeneberue Cat. A. D.

The OE name was obviously *se brocena beorz (beorh), probably denoting 'a crumbling hill' 1. The second element has later on been confused with burgh, borough (< OE bur(u)h) and, as is most often the case when this happens in pl. ns, borough has survived; cf. Marlborough, Wanborough, Woodborough, below.

Note. Kemble's identification of †(on) brochenen berge CD no. 284, and (to) brocenan beorge ib. nos. 1002, 1186 with this place is obviously incorrect. The first of these places is mentioned among the boundaries of Tefunte (= Teffont) in south Wilts.; the two latter names represent one and the same place, probably in Soms.

¹ This meaning is strongly supported by the fact that the ground in this part is composed of oolitic chalk.

Bromham NW of Devizes.

1086 Bromham DB; c. 1090 Bromham Br. Mus.; 1312 Bromham Ch. R.

Originally * $br\bar{o}m$ - $h\bar{a}m$ (or possibly -ham(m)); OE $br\bar{o}m$ = 'broom'. For $h\bar{a}m$ see under Bremilham.

Broughton Gifford NE of Bradford.

1001 at Broctine CD no. 706; 1086 Broctone, in Broctune DB; 1194 in Brocton Rot. Cur.; 1267 de Brochetone Macray; 1281 Brochton Ch. R; c. 1290 de Broctone T. Eccl.; 1293 Brouton Dugdale; 1328 Broghton C. Inq.; 1415 Broghton Giffard Phillipps' fines; 1428 Broughton, Brocton FA.

Originally $br\bar{o}c$ - $t\bar{u}n$. The place is situated on a little affluent of the Lower Avon. The Broughtons in England are numerous. It is to be noticed that the OE combination ct, arisen in the formation of pl. ns, as a rule develops into ht in early ME, consequently coinciding with ht < pre-Germ. kt [on this point see Wyld, p. 300]; cf. Wroughton, below. The few cases in which this transition has not taken place may be due to the fact that the original sense of the first element was kept in mind while the sound-law in question was in force. Such names are e. g. Acton (Trussell), Staffs. (< OE $\bar{a}c$ - $t\bar{u}n$), Brocton, Staffs. and several Brocktons, Salop. [< OE * $br\bar{o}c$ - $t\bar{u}n$]. e may also have been assimilated to t in some names, as is assumed in the case of Latton, below.

'Gifford' (Gifard) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 336; see also Jones, p. 201.

Bugley W of Warminster.

1256 in Buggel R. fin. exc. (prob. identical); Edw. I in Bugelighe, Bogelegh Br. Mus.; 1536 Buggeley Dugdale.

Apparently from an original *et Buggan lēaze. Whether the first element represented a male or female name, we cannot say. Bugge was the name of the daughter of King Centwine (Migne, Aldh. epist., p. 290) and also occurs

in CS no. 156 (Buegan), but a masculine equivalent is not on record.

Bulbridge [bulbridz] near Wilton.

c. 1200 de Bolebrigge, de Bulebrige Macray; 1248 de Bulebrigge ib.; c. 1290 Bolebrygg T. Eccl.

Probably from *Bulan bryez; *Bula may well have been a hypocoristic form of such names as *Buleferth (<*Bul(e)-frip) occurring in the local †Buleferthes steort CS no. 687, or of Bulered (on a coin of the time of Eadweard III). Note also such pl. ns as Bulinga fenn CS no. 1351, bulan hol ib. no. 144, Bulan ham ib. no. 213, bulan mædæ ib. no. 491, bullanholt ib. no. 565, on bulan wyllan ib. no. 1282, p. 589, Bulandun CD no. 707.

Note. Middendorff's explanation of the element bul in Engl. pl. ns seems untenable. How could the OE element bulan-(which moreover is recorded in the early 8th cent.) represent O. Norse bolr, bulr? His assumption of an OE adj. * $b\bar{u}l$ (= 'geschwollen') seems also too hypothetical to be credited.

Bulford [$bulf_{\partial}(r)d$] NE of Amesbury.

1178? Bultisford Br. Mus.; 1199 de Bultiford Rot. Ch.; 1270 Bulteford, Bultesford(a) Ch. R; 1286 Bultisford ib.; 1316 de Bollforde FA; 1331 Bulteford C. Inq.; 1428 Bolteford FA; 1566 Bulford Br. Mus.

From *Bultan ford, Bulta probably representing some p. n. beginning with Bult-, of which *Bultfrip (Bultfriði Lat. gen.) is found in CS no. 91. The same name evidently occurs in Boltintone DB, situated, like Bulford, in the hundred of Ambresbury.

Bulkington [bəlkiyt'n] W of Potterne.

1224 in Bulkinton R. fin. exc.; 13th cent. Bolkintone Liber rub.; 1316 Bulkington FA; 1324 Bulkynton ib.; 1330 Bul-

¹ From this dat. form. Searle erroneously gives a nom, form *Bugga, and he makes the same mistake in the case of Cillan, dat. (CS nos. 29, 101); see Chilton.

kenton C. Inq.; 1332 Bulkyngton Ch. R; 1417 Bulkindon Cal. Inq.; 1434 Bulkyngdon ib.

Originally *Bulkinga (Bulcan?) tūn, *Bulca being probably a petform of some OE p. n. beginning with Bulc-. Of such names Bulcred alone is recorded. Note also (to) bulcan pytte CS no. 225, evidently situated in east Wilts, near Bedwyn.

Bupton S of Wootton Bassett.

1232 in Bubbeclive Ch. R (identical according to editor); 1344 Bobbeton Rot. Orig.; 1346 Bubbeton Cal. Inq.; 1428 Bobuton FA; 1488 Bubton C. Inq.

From $Bubban t\bar{u}n$, Bubba being an OE p. n. u for e in Bobuton is merely orthographic.

Burbage SE of Marlborough.

961 Burhbece, †Burgbeche, †burg beces CS no. 1067; Æthelred †Burhbec CD no. 1312; 1086 Burbetce, Burbetc, Buberge (corrupt) DB; c. 1115 Burbach Osmund; c. 1140 Burbecha Macray; 1177 Burbache ib.; 1194 Burggeõge Rot. Cur.; 1199 Burebache Rot. Ch.; 1200 Burbech Osmund; 1204 Burbeche R. L. Pat.; 1227 Burbech, Burbach Ch. R; 1232 Burbeche Macray; 1314 Burghbach Sauvage C. Inq.: 1316 Borebache FA; 1320 Burbachesauvage Cl. R; 1338 Bourbach ib.

The first element is obviously OE burh; the second probably OE bece (= beech-tree), which may have had a collective sense here (i. e. = 'wood of beeches') just like OE bed(e)-winde and bremel (mod. Bedwyn, Bremhill). The supposition of a plur. sense is also supported by the form burg beees CS no. 1067. For Bourbach see Burton, below.

The modern -age is due to weakened stress; cf. Cowage (< OE -wic), below, Stevenage, Herts. (< OE -hæc(c)), see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Herts. p. 65.

'Sauvage' is an AN family name.

¹ A derivation from OE bece (= 'brook', see NED under 'bache', 'beck') is out of the question for topographical reasons.

Note. Burhbeca CD no. 916 and †Burbagh ib. no. 939, which, like the places above (CD nos. 1236, 1312), have been located by Kemble in Berks., are identical with Burbage, Leics.

Burcombe W of Wilton.

937 Brydancumb CS no. 714; 1086 Bredecumbe (twice) DB; c. 1290 de Brudecumbe, Bridecumbe T. Eccl.; 1316 de Bridcombe, de Brudecombe FA; de Bridecumbe Cl. R; 1428 in Brudecombe, de Brutcombe FA; 1481 Northbritecombe Br. Mus.; 1540 Burdeombe Dugdale.

For *Bryda see Bridmore. The development of the present name is analogous with that of Burford (Britford).

Burford see Britford.

Burton near Mere.

1236 de Burton' Cl. R; 1314 Mereburton Pat. R; 1398 Mere Bourton Cal. Inq.; 1428 Bourton FA.

Most probably from *burh- $t\bar{u}n^{4}$. In ME the first element has been confused with the subst. bour (< OE $b\bar{u}r$); cf. Bourton, Glos. and Berks., both of which are derived from OE burh- $t\bar{u}n$ (see Baddeley, p. 28; Skeat, Pl. Ns of Berks. p. 92).

The distinctive name refers to the neighbouring Mere.

Bury Blunsdon near Blunsdon, Broad.

early 14th cent. Buribluntesdon TN; 1319 Burbluntesdon Pat. R; 1332 Buribluntesdon Cl. R.

Originally *at ($p\bar{a}re$) byriz. There are still remnants of ancient fortifications at this place. For Blunsdon see above.

Bushton [buft'n] S of Wootton Bassett. 1316 Bisshoppeston FA.

¹ An OE * $b\bar{u}r$ - $t\bar{u}n$ is, on the other hand, a most unlikely name, as $b\bar{u}r$ seems to have been chiefly a literary word and not much in use.

From *bisc(e)opes [bysc(e)opes] tūn. The modern form is due to an AN rendering of *Byshton, a contraction of ME. *Byshopeston, with a later association of the first syllable with the subst. bush. Cf. Bussheton, Br. Mus. [= Bishopstone, above].

Buttermere SE of Shalbourne.

863 †Butermere CS no. 508; 931 †Buter mere ib. no. 678; 1086 Butremare (twice), Butremere DB; William I Butærmæræ Br. Mus.; 1284 Butermere Ch. R; c. 1290 Botemere, Botemere T. Eccl.; 1330 Botermere Br. Mus.; 1373 Boturmere Cal. inq. da.

Names beginning with Butter- are not uncommon in England, and in some cases this may well be derived from OE butere, e. g. Butterton, Staffs., see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Staffs., and Butterworth, Yorks., see Goodall. In the present case, however, it can hardly be anything but a p. n. *Buter (< Scand. Butr). For the retention of r see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 184. The same name probably also occurs in the latinized Buterus Ellis Intr. II p. 300. The second member is OE $m\bar{e}re$ ($zem\bar{e}re$) = 'boundary', 'landmark'. There is another Buttermere in Cumb., which certainly contains the same p. n. (see Sedgefield).

Cadnam N of Calne.

1468 Cadenham Br. Mus.

Undoubtedly from *Cadan hām (or hamm), Cada being perhaps the same person as has given his name to the adjoining Catcombe (see below). For this p. n. see Müller, p. 49.

Calcutt [kəlkət] near Cricklade.

1086 Colecote DB; 1327 Colcote C. Inq.; 1334 Colecote ib.; 1342 Colecote Cal. Inq.; 1404 Calcote ib.; 1416 Colcote ib.; 1493 in Calecote C. Inq.; 1623 Callcott Br. Mus.

Probably from *Colan cot(e); the p. n. Cola may, according to Björkman, Pers. I, p. 84, possibly be an anglicized form

of the Scand. Coli. Calcutt is one of those pl. ns, the development of which has been influenced by a tendency among the dialects of Wilts. to change o > a, which seems to have been in force since the 15th cent. The other names showing this change are Ratfyn, Wansdyke, and Wraxhall (North and South).

The modern pronunciation of *Calcutt* is merely a spelling pron.

Calne [kæn, kaan].

955 Calne CS no. 912; [978] Calne AS Chr. [E] (prob. identical); 997 Calnæ CD no. 698; 1086 Cauna DB; 1091 Calna Osmund; c. 1108 Kaln ib.; 1160 Canna Macray; c. 1180 Cauna Osmund; 1194 Canne, Calne Rot. Cur.; Hen. III Kaune Rot. H.

This name must be Celtic, probably the same word as *Colne*, Lancs. (occurring as *Calna*, *Caune* in the 13th cent.); see Wyld.

Calstone Wellington [kəlst'n] SE of Calne.

1086 Calestone (three times) DB; 1130 Calestona H. Pipe R; 1194 de Caleston, de Karleton Rot. Cur.; 1204 in Caleston R. Oblat.; 1225 de Calestun' R. fin. exc.; 1273 Calston, Caleston C. Inq.

The first element is evidently the Scand. p. n. *Kale (Kali), for which see Björkman, Pers. II, p. 50. The termination is OE tün. According to Jones, p. 203, 'Wellington' refers to John de Wilinton, a baron of the time of Edw. III.

Castle Combe NW of Chippenham.

1086 Come DB; 1269 Cumbe C. Inq.; Cumba Br. Mus.; 1270, 1283 in Cumbe Ch. R; 1315 Castelcombe ib.; 1322

¹ The existence of this tendency in the districts where these places are situated has been confirmed by all those people I have consulted on the question.

Castelcoumbe ib.; 1328 Castelcombe C. Inq.; 1422 Castelcome Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Combe FA.

OE cumb (= small valley). In DB b is sometimes lost medially after m; see Stolze § 34; cf. Elcombe, Stitchcombe, Tidcombe, Whitcombe, below. 'Castle' refers to an ancient Norman castle, of which there are still traces.

Castle Eaton NE of Cricklade.

1086 Ettone DB; 1218 Etun Pat. R; c. 1290 Eaton Meysy T. Eccl.; 1316 Eton Meysy FA; 1371, 1375 Eyton Meisy Cal. Inq.; 1428 Eaton Meysy FA; 1503 Castell Eton Cat. A. D.; c. 1540 Eiton Castelle Leland.

Originally *ēa-tūn ('enclosure by water', here the Thames). Eyton, Eiton are AN spellings; see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V. p. 16.

'Meisy' was a family name, possibly of French origin. 'Castle' may refer to some mediæval castle, of which, however, there are no visible traces at the present time.

Catcombe N of Calne.

1240 in Cadecumb' Cl. R.

From *Cadan cumb; see Cadnam, above.

Chaddenwicke [tfwd'nwik] E of Mere.

1086 Chedelwich DB; 1283 Chadewiz C. Inq.; 1322 Chadenwiche Cal. inq. da.; 1324 Chadewych Pat. R; 1414 Chadneswyche Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Chadenwyche FA; 1493 of Chadenwiche C. Inq.

From an original *xet Cead(d)an wice, Cead(d)a being probably a shortened form of Ceadw(e)alla, the anglicized form of the Celtic Cwdwalla. The substitution of l for n in the DB form is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, p. 141 ff., and also z for ch in Chadewiz, see ib. p. 26 f.

Chalcot SW of Westbury.

1269 (de) Chaldecote R. fin. exc.; 1318 (in) Chaldecote Ch. R.

Originally, *pet cealde cot, *seo cealde cote. This name, of which the Anglian equivalent Caldecot(e), Caulcott is rather common, may have indicated a 'shelter' or 'abandoned cottage'. Cf. cold harbour (also frequently used as a pl. n.) = 'a place of shelter for wayfarers by the wayside' (see 'harbour' NED).

Chalfield, Great, and Little.

1001 †Chaldfelde CD no. 706; 1086 Caldefelle DB; 1194 Chaudefeld Rot. Cur.; 1199 Chadesfeld, Kaldefeld, in Caudifeld ib.; 1201 Chaudefeld, Scaudefeld Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1216 in Chaldefeld R. L. Cl.; 1254 de Chaudefeld' R. fin. exc.; 1318 Shaldefeld Parva Pat. R; 1428 Est Chaldefeld (= Ch. Great), West Chaldefeld (= Ch. Little) FA.

Originally *se cealda feld (ceald to be taken in the sense of 'bleak', 'windswept'). As the phonetic value of c before a in DB is k (Zachrisson, p. 34), it may be the Angl. form that has influenced the scribe in this case; cf. the 1199 forms (Rot. Cur.). The orthographic confusion of ch, sc and s(c)h is discussed by Zachrisson, p. 38. For the loss of medial d in DB see Stolze § 37.

Chapmanslade [tfapmonsleid] SW of Westbury.

1396 Chepmanslade Cal. Inq.; 1455 Chipmanslade ib.; 1463 Chapmanslade ib.; 1476 Chipmanslade ib.

Originally *at cĕap- [cēpe-, cȳpe-] mannes lāde (with ME shortening of ā in the second element). OE lād, zelād seems to have denoted 'road' as well as 'water-way'; see 'load', 'lode' NED, and 'lode' EDD. In the name under discussion the former meaning is present. Cf. Chicklade, Cricklade. The mod. pronunciation (-leid) is due to the spelling.

Charlton NE of Malmesbury.

680 †de Cherl(e)tone CS no. 59; 844 †Cherltune (†Choerletune) ib. no. 447; 965—71 æt Ceorlatunæ CS no. 1174; 1065 †Cheorletuna CD no. 817; 1086 Cerletone DB I: 67 a; 1316 Cherlton FA; 1428 Charl(e)ton ib.

From an original *ceorla tūn. In the OE constitution, a 'ceorl' was 'a man without rank', 'a member of the third or lowest rank of freemen'. For oe as a representative of OE ĕo in early ME see Bülbring, Bonner Beitr. zur Angl. XV: vii. The three following names are explained in the same way.

Note. (in) Ceorletune Thorpe, p. 443, and (cet) Ceorlatune ib., pp. 534, 535 are in the index located in Wilts. This seems, however, very doubtful, at least as far as the former place is concerned.

Charlton SW of Pewsey.

1225 Cherleton Pat. R (prob. identical); 1290 Cherleton T. Eccl.; 1316 Cherleton FA; 1424 Charleton ib.

Charlton SSE of Salisbury.

1311 Cherletone C. Inq.; 1316 Cherleton FA; 1428 Charleton ib.

Charlton ESE of Shaftesbury (Dors.). 1216 in Cherleton Rot. Ch.; 1282 Cherleton Br. Mus.

Chedglow [tfedzlou] N of Malmesbury.

1086 Chegeslaue, Chegeslei, Cheieslave (corrupt) DB; 1167 Cheggeslawa Pipe R; 1176 Cheggelewa ib.; 1194 de Chegelawe, de Seggelawe Rot. Cur.; Ric. I de Seggelawe Abbr. Plac.; 1203 Chichelewe Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1222 in Cheggelauwe Macray; 1257 Chigelawee C. Inq.; Edw. I Cheggelegh Rot. H; Edw. III de Cheggelewe, Cheggelegh (several times) NI; 1361 Chechelawe Cal. Inq.; in Chichelowe Cl. R; 1428 in Cheggelewe FA; 1540 Chegislow, Cheggeley Dugdale.

The second element was obviously OE $hl\bar{a}w$ ($hl\bar{e}w$) = '(funeral) mound'. As to the first element, it most probably represents an OE p. n. There is one on record, which would fit in here, viz. *Cecc(e) [signum Cecces CS no. 183]. Chedglow may therefore possibly be derived from *Cecces

4 E. Ekblom

hlāw (hlāw). s for ch is merely orthographic; see Zachrisson p. 37 f. The termination has, in DB, NI, and Dugdale, been confused with the common -lei, legh; cf Winterslow, below.

Chelworth NE of Crudwell.

Alfred †de Choellewrthe, †Cellanwurd CS nos. 568, 569; c. 900 †Cellewird ib. no. 584; †Chellewrth, †Choellewrthe [†Cellanwirdan, †Ceolwurðe], †cheleworpe ib. nos. 585, 586; 956 †de ehelewrthe ib. no. 922; 1065 †Chellewrða CD no. 817; 1086 in Celcorde DB; 1158 Cheleswurda Pipe R (or = Chelworth, below); 1322 Chilworth Pat. R (or = Chelworth, below); 1490 Chelwourth C. Inq.; (n. d.) (de) Choellewrpe, (de) Chol(l)ewrthe (several times) Reg. Malm.

From *Ceol(l)an weorp (worp, wurp, wyrp), Ceol(l)a being probably a shortened form of some p. n. beginning with Ceol-, of which there are numerous examples; see Müller, p. 50. The final d for th in the second member may be due to weakened stress. In DB medial th is generally rendered by d; see Stolze § 38. Chol(l)ewrthe indicates change of stress. The form Cellanwirdan is probably due to a latinized *Cellanwirda (cf. Britfordan under Britford), which has been treated by the ME scribe as if it belonged to the OE weak declension.

Chelworth SW of Cricklade.

1086 Celewrde DB; 1272 Chellewrth Br. Mus.; 1281 Chelewurth (or possibly Chelworth, above) C. Inq.; Edw. I in Chelesworth' Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Cheleworthe FA; 1327 Chelleworth C. Inq.; 1334 Great Cheleworth ib.; 1347 Magna Scheleworth Phillipps' fines; 1485 Chelleworth C. Inq.

See preceding name. Scheleworth is another example of the orthographic confusion discussed by Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Cherhill E of Calne.

1158 Ceriel Pipe R; 1215 de Chiriel R. L. Cl.; 1240 Cyriel Macray; 1267 Chyriel ib.; 1275 Churiel C. Inq.; 1315 Chyryel

ib.; 1316 de Chyrrele FA; 1324 Cheriel ib.; 1428 Chyryell ib.; 1490 Chiriell C. Inq.; 1577 Cheriell Br. Mus.; 1664 Cherhill ib.

The etymology of this name is obscure. All that is clear is that the *hill*-element is a very late formation, due to popular etymology (cf. Bremhill, Fonthill).

Cheverell, Great and Little SSW of Potterne.

1086 Chevrel DB; 1217 Cheverel R. fin. exc.; 1249 Chyverel C. Inq.; 1274 Great Chyverel ib.; 1279 Cheveroil Fine Rolls; 1286 Chiverel C. Inq.; 1301 Little Cheveroill Ch. R; 1316 Chyverell Magna, Ch. Parva FA; 1402 Cheveryll Magna ib.

This name is probably not Germanic.

Chicklade [tfikleid] N of Hindon.

1199 de Chikelad Rot. Cur.; Edw. I in Chikelade Plac. Warr.; 1296 de Chiklede Pat. R; 1316 de Chicklaude FA; 1396 Cheklade Cal, Inq.; 1408 Chekelade ib.; 1428 in Chykelade, de Chyclade FA; 1491 in Chykelade C. Inq.

Probably from an original **et Cices (Cican?) lāde (lād here = 'road'; cf. Chapmanslade). Judging from the latinized Cichus, which occurs among the signatories of several OE charters, we are entitled to assume the existence of an OE p. n. *Cic (perhaps also *Cica). This p. n. seems moreover to be found in other pl. ns, e. g. in Chick Hill Sussex (1284 Chikehull Cal. Inq.), Chicksands Beds. (Chicesane DB; Chikesaund FA. Rot. H). Chicksgrove¹, SE of Chicklade, no doubt also contains the same p. n. -laude (in FA) seems to indicate a tendency towards the retention of the long vowel in the development of the name; cf. Crekkelaude (Phillipps' fines) = mod. Cricklade.

¹ Unfortunately I have not been able to find any old references to this name.

Chilhampton [- -] N of Wilton.

1291 Childhampton Cal. Inq.; 1303 Childhampton Cl. R; early 14th cent. Childhimpton TN; 1323 Childehampton Cal. inq. da.; 1481 Chilhampton Br. Mus.

This name is derived from *cilda hām-tūn ('the children's homestead'). cf. cilda stan CS nos. 767, 1164, 1287; Cilda tun CD nos. 796, 1310.

Chilmark E of Hindon.

929—940 †Chieldmeare CS no. 745; 1086 Chilmere DB; 1166 Chilmere Pipe R; c. 1290 Chilm'k T. Eccl.; 1296 Chilemark Pat. R; 1316 de Chilmerke FA; 1428 Chilmark ib.

The original form seems to have been *cilda mearc; OE meare f. = 'boundary', 'landmark'. For cilda see preceding name.

Chi!ton Foliat NW of Hungerford (Berks.).

1086 Cilletone DB; 1221 Chilton Foliot Pat. R; 1227 Chilton Foliot Ch. R; 1307 Chylton C. Inq.; 1316 de Chiltone FA; 1321 Chilton Tois Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1322 Chilton Tieys Ch. R; 1336 Chilton Tyeis ib.

The DB form indicates an original *Cillan tūn. A weak masc. p. n. *Cilla is not on record, but a fem. *Cille existed [recorded in dat. (Cillan 2) in CS nos. 29, 101]. A strong masc. Cille is also found (CS no. 75, and on a coin of the time of Harold I).

'Foliat' (Foliot) is a French family name, probably also 'Tyeis' (Tois). In TN, p. 145, Sampson Foliot is mentioned as the holder of Chilton and Dreycot (= Draycot Foliat).

Note. Kemble's identification of *Cioltan ford* CD no. 320 with Chilton is impossible, as this place is mentioned among the boundaries of *Norôniwetune* (= Newnton, North).

¹ There are no less than four 'Hamptons' in the vicinity of Wilton, each with a distinctive first element, viz. Chilhampton, Ditchampton, Netherhampton, and Quidhampton.

² As in the case of *Buggan* (see under Bugley), Searle here makes the same mistake of assuming a nom. *Cilla from this dat. form.

Chippenham.

[878] to Cippanhamme AS Chr. [Ā]; 880—85 æt Cippanhamme [†æt Cippenhamme] CS no. 553; †Schyppenam ib. no. 554; Chippenam ib. no. 555; 901—24 æt Cippanhomme ib. no. 591; 940 †Chippenham CS no. 751 (prob. identical); 1086 Chepeham, Cepcham, Chipeham DB; 1176 Chypeham Pipe R; 1178 Chep(p)cham ib.; 1200 Chipeham Rot. Ch.; 1204 Chippehā ib.; 1217 Chipham Pat. R; 1225 Chipeshā R. L. Cl.; 1227 Chip(p)cham Ch. R; Sipeam Cl. R; 1240 Sypeham ib.; 1249 Chuppeham, Chipeham C. Inq.; 1264 Chippenham ib.; 1319 Shippenham Cl. R; 1376 Chepenham Rot. Orig.; 1420 Chippyngham Phillipps' fines; 1424 Chippenham FA.

The first element can hardly be anything but the gen. of a p. n. *Cyppa, the patronymic of which occurs in DB as Chipinc (Ellis, Intr. II, p. 68). The same name is contained in (to) Cyppanhamme CS no. 246 (= Chippenham, Glos.), possibly also in (†)cipes bróc CS 1111 (with substitution of strong for weak gen. ending). One may be inclined to explain *Cyppa (<*Cypa) as a pet-name, formed from OE cypman. The second element was OE ham(m), for which see Bremilham. On the orthographic interchange of s, s(c)h, and ch see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Chirton SE of Devizes.

1086 Ceritone DB; 1194 Cherint, Rot. Cur.; 1221 Chiritun R. L. Cl.; 1229 de Chiriton' Cl. R; 1285 Churitone C. Inq.; c. 1290 de Chirtone T. Eccl.; 1316 Churughton FA; 1321 Churghton C. Inq.; 1324 Churughton Pat. R; Chereton FA; 1348 Chirghton Phillipps' fines; 1373 Chirughton Cal. Inq.; 1428 Cheryton, Shirghton, Chernton, Chyryton FA; 1473 Cherghton Cal. Inq.

This name seems impossible to explain.

Note. Cyricestun CD no. 1065 can obviously not be identical with this place, as is suggested by Kemble.

Chisbury NE of Burbage.

1086 Cheseberie DB; 1247 de Chessebure Macray; 1260, 1270 Chissebury Ch. R; 1270 Chysebiry Pat. R; 1279 Chessebury Br. Mus.; 1285 Chusseburia, Chessburia ib.; c. 1290 Chisebury T. Eccl. (prob. identical); 1316 Chussebury FA; 1360 Chessebury Cal. Inq.; 1402, 1428 Chissebury FA.

Most probably from an original **at Cissan byriz, Cissa being an OE p. n., occurring i. a. in LVD; see Müller, p. 50. u in Chussebury stands for a ME secondary y (looked upon as original). As to e for i in the first syllable of some ME forms, see under Biddestone.

Chisenbury N of Enford.

1086 Chesigeberie DB; 1226 de Chesingeberie Osmund; 1227 Chisingebur Ch. R; 1270 Chisingbury ib.; c. 1290 Chesyngbury T. Eccl.; 1316 Chusingbury FA; 1428 Chesyngbury ib.; 1485, 1493 Chesyngbury C. Inq.

Originally **wt Cissinga byriz. For Cissa see preceding name. In the DB form a stroke (-) over i (representing the following n) has been left out.

Chisledon or Chiseldon SSE of Swindon.

880—885 æt Cyseldene¹ CS no. 553; †at Kyseldene¹ ib. 554; Alfred Ciseldenu¹ ib. 565; 900 †Ceolseldene¹ ib. 594; †Ceoseldene¹ ib. 598; 903 †Ceoseldene¹ ib. 602; 925—941 Cyseldene¹, †(de) Cheseldene¹, †de Chiseldene¹ ib. 648; 1086 Chiseldene DB; c. 1290 Chiseldene T. Eccl.; 1299 Chuseldene Pat. It; 1306 Cheselden Ch. R; 1316 de Chuseldone FA; 1428 Cheselden, Chyselden ib.; 1457 Chiseldeen Cat. A. D.; 1495 Cheselden C. Inq.

The first element is WS cisil, cysel [Angl. Kent. ceosel] = 'gravel', 'shingle'. The second element was OE denu = 'valley'. The village is situated on a brook (a sub-affluent of the r. Cole); -don in the modern name refers to the

¹ The identity is, if not quite certain, at least very probable.

down on its south side, over which the greater part of the village now extends. k in Kyseldene is merely scribal.

Chitterne, All Saints and Ch. St. Mary [tfita(r)n] ENE of Heytesbury.

1086 Chetre (three times), Cheltre (prob. identical, but corrupt) DB; 1166 Cettra Pipe R; 1205 Cettre Rot. Ch.; 1232 Cettra Ch. R; 1248 Cettre ib.; 1255 Cetter Cal. Rot. Ch. (prob. identical); 1289 Chytterne Br. Mus., c. 1290 Cettre T. Eccl.; Edw. I in Chytterne, in Chyttyrne Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Chuterne FA; 1324 Chitterne Maiden (= St. Mary) Pat. R; 1428 in Chitterne, Cettre Beate Marie FA.

The second element probably represents OE ærn = 'house', 'dwelling', 'place', which was very common as a termination in OE (e. g. ber(e)-ærn, eorp-ærn, heal-ærn, hord-ærn) 1. The first element, which is most probably the same as in Chittoe, may be a p. n., although no suitable independent name is on record. The local Cytanforde CD no. 714, cytan seohtres ford CS no. 963, and †cytan igge ib. no. 1002 indicate, however, the existence of a p. n. "Cyta, which may possibly be concealed in the name under notice and in the next one. Zachrisson (Stud. i mod. språkvet. VI, p. 293, footnote 2, calls attention to the probability of Cyta in these OE pl. ns being nothing but the bird's name (NE 'kite'), applied as a nick-name. This also agrees with the initial ch in the DB form, but the mod. pronunciation is in that case a spelling pron. For the change of i > e in some forms see under Biddestone.

The distinctive names refer to churches.

Chittoe [tfitu] SW of Calne.

1167 de Chetewe Pipe R; 1227 in Cheteweye Macray; 1260 Chetewe Ch. R; 1389 Chutuwe Cat. A. D.; 1390 Chetewe Phillipps' fines; 1418 Chutewe Cal. Inq.; 1634 Chittoe Br. Mus.

¹ Other Wilts. pl. ns in -erne are Colerne, Potterne, and Vasterne.

Possibly from an original *et Cytan weze (see above). The second element was obviously OE wez, which after weakening has coincided with the common ending -oe (-hoe) in pl. ns.

Cholderton E of Amesbury.

1086 Celdrintone (twice), Celdretone DB; 1174 Cheldrintona Pipe R; 1180? Cheldretona Br. Mus.; 1194 de Cheldrīton Rot. Cur.; 1256 Chederinton C. Inq.; 1257 Cheldrinton ib.; 1270 Cheldrington Ch. R; c. 1290 Cheldertone, Chelryngton T. Eccl.; Edw. I de Childerington' Plac. Warr.; 1296 Chelderington Pat. R; 1307 Cheldryngton C. Inq.; 1316 Chaldrynton FA; 1318 Childerton C. Inq.; 1428 Chaldryngton FA; 1482 Chaldryngton Cal. Inq.

From *Ceolredinga (or *Ceolricinga) tūn, Ceolred and Ceolric being recorded OE p. ns. For the development of this pl. n. cf. Alderton and Hilperton. o in the mod. name is due to the dialectal pronunciation of e in this position, which tends to o. The early insertion of d between l and r^2 and its subsequent occurrence is probably due to the influence of the ME adj. chald, cheld (< ceald), the influence of this adj. being particularly indicated by the form Chaldryn(g)ton (quoted three times), in which a can hardly be explained in any other way.

For Child- see Morsbach § 109.

Christian Malford NE of Chippenham.

937 †Cristemaleford CS no. 717; 940 †Cristemalford ib. no. 752; 1086 Cristemeleforde DB; 1166 de Cristesmeleford Pipe R; 1167 Cristes Melesford ib.; 1181 de Cristemeresford ib.; 1194 Cristesmaelford Rot. Cur.; 1196 in Cristemaleford Feet of fines; 1207 de Crustemeleford Rot. Ch.; 1227 Cristmelford Ch. R; 1232 Cristemeleford ib.; 1280 C(h)ristemeleford ib.; Edw. I Criste(s)maleford Plac. Warr.; 1316 Cristemalle-

² In the case of alder (< OE alor) for instance, d does not appear till the 14th cent.

¹ On this element see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds. p. 29 ff., Moorman, p. 52, Wyld, p. 95.

ford FA; 1540 Christen Malford Dugdale; c. 1540 Christine Maleforde Leland.

Originally *Cristes-mæl-ford (the ford at the cross'). The ME forms exhibit two different types: one with an early shortening of the medial \bar{a} (by weakening), which has survived, the other with a later shortening. r for l in Cristemeres ford may be due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, p. 143. The e-vowel between l and f is merely a connecting vowel.

Chute (Forest) [tfuut] NE of Ludgershall.

1178? Ceit Br. Mus.; 1199 Chett Rot. Ch.; 1215 Cet R. Oblat.; 1222 Cet Pat. R; 1245 Schet ib.; 1255 of Cette ib.; de Chete R. Pat.; 1258 Chut, Chet C. Inq.; 1284 of Choete Cl. R; of Chute Ch. R; 1288 Chuyt Pat. R; Chiet Cl. R; 1291 Shut Pat. R; 1295 Chuet ib.; 1296 Cheote ib.; 1328 Cheut Cl. R; 1334 Cheut Br. Mus.; 1428 Chuyt FA; 1485 in Chute C. Inq.

This is certainly a Celtic name, perhaps the same as is contained in *Preshute*, below.

Clarendon ESE of Salisbury.

1164 Clarendon Br. Mus.; 1204 Clarendon R. L. Pat.; 1227 Clarendon Ch. R; 1279 at Claryndone C. Inq.; 1284 Clarindon Ch. R; 1287 Claryndon C. Inq.; 1316 Claringdon R. Pat.; 1341 Clarington ib.; 1491 Claryngdon C. Inq.; c. 1540 Clarington Leland.

From *Claringa dūn, Claring being perhaps a patronymic of Clare, occurring as the name of a witness in CS no. 882.

Clatford W of Marlborough.

1086 Clatford DB; c. 1290 Clatford T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Clatford FA.

The first element is no doubt OE *clāte*, a plant-name, denoting 'burdock', 'goose-grass', 'clivers'. At the present day, *clote* in the southern counties is also applied to other

plants, e. g. 'the coltsfoot', 'the yellow water-lily' (see EDD), but it is very doubtful whether the latter meanings are old enough to have been present in the pl. n. under notice.

Note. Clatford CD nos. 1177, 1265 is located by Kemble in Wilts., although it obviously refers to some place in the southwest of Berks.

Clench see Clinch.

Clevancy [klev·ensi] E of Hilmarton.

1086 (in) Clive DB¹; 1232 in Clive Wancy Ch. R; early 14th cent. in Clive Wancy TN; 1316 de Clyve Wancy FA; 1428 in Clyve Anney ib.

Originally *clif [et ($\hbar\bar{e}m$) clife]. It is interesting to notice the amalgamation of the distinctive 'Wancy' with the genuine name. The change of i > e in the first syllable is due to weakened stress.

The AN 'Wancy' refers, according to Jones, p. 207, to Radulf de Wancy, who held lands here towards the end of the 13th cent. (TN p. 137).

Cliffe Pypard [generally pron. klijv] S of Wootton Bassett.

1086 (in) Clive DB; 1230 in Clive Pipart Cl. R; 1281 Cliffe Pipard Br. Mus.; 1284 Pypardesclive R. Pat.; 1290 ad Clivam Ch. R; c. 1290 de Clive (Pippard) T. Eccl.; 1304 in Pypardesclyve Ch. R; 1332 Clivepipard Br. Mus.; 1340 Piperesclyve ib.; 1428 in Clyve (Pypard) FA.

Originally *clif, *æt (þæm) clife, the modern name being orthographically a contamination of the OE nom. and dat. form (the pronunciation, however, representing cleve, cleeve, for which see NED). 'Pypard' is an AN name, referring to the Ricus Pipard who is mentioned as a tenant here in TN, pp. 140, 149, 156 (see Jones, p. 207).

¹ There are several places called *Clive* in DB, and most of them seem to refer to manors at the present Clevancy and Cliffe Pypard.

Note. Clive CD no. 460 cannot possibly be identical with Cliffe Pypard (or Clevancy) as it is mentioned among the boundaries of Brokeneberge (= Brokenborough, Wilts.).

Clinch or Clench S of Marlborough.

1329 Cleynche C. Inq.; 1354 Clench Cal. Inq.

It seems impossible to explain this name. There is a dialectal word *clench* in Northants., applied to a plant ('the corn crowfoot'), but as this word is quite unknown in Wilts. at the present day ', it is naturally very doubtful if it occurs in this pl. n.

Coate E of Devizes.

1282 Cotes Pat. R; c. 1290 Cotes T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Cotes FA; 1490 Cotes C. Inq.

Originally *cotan (plur. of cote f.) or *cotu (plur. of cot n.). OE cote, cot = cottage. The ME forms quoted show substitution of the strong masc. plur. ending. Cf. Coates, Sussex (Roberts, p. 49), which is to be explained in the same way; (Roberts' derivation of this name from an original gen. sing. (OE cotes) is quite impossible). Cf. also the rather frequent Coton (e. g. in Cambs. and Staffs.) < *cotan, *eet (pām) cotum.

Codford St. Mary and Codford St. Peter SE of Heytesbury. 901 †codan ford CS no. 595; 1086 Coteford (three times) DB; 1130—35 Codeford Osmund; 1167? Cutiford Br. Mus.; 1180? Cotesford ib.; 1281 Est Codeford C. Inq. (= St. Mary); 1309 Estkodeford ib.; 1316 Coteford FA; 1322 Westcodeford Ch. R (= St. Peter); 1327 C(h)odeford C. Inq.; 1413 Westcoteford Cal. Inq.; 1428 Codeford Sancti Petri, C. Sancte Marie FA.

Most probably from $*Cudan \ ford$; for the p. n. Cuda see Müller, p. 51. As to t for d in the DB and Br. Mus. forms

¹ The dialectal word for the common crowfoot species is *crazy* (*craisey*) in Wilts.

see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. 5, p. 8 f. The t in the later forms above is due to assimilation with f (after the syncope of e). 'St. Mary' and 'St. Peter' are names of churches.

Colerne [kalo(r)n] W of Corsham.

1086 Colerne DB; 1177 Culerna Pipe R; 1232 de Culerne Ch. R; 1269 Cullerne, Collern C. Inq.; 1283 in Culerne Ch. R; 1316, 1324 de Colerne FA; 1330 de Colorne R. Pat.; 1428 (in) Colerne FA.

This name may be derived from *Culan ærn (cf. Chitterne). The existence of a p. n. *Cula (*Cul?) is indicated by culinga genære CS no. 227, Culingas ib. no. 326, †æt Culingan (<*Culingum) ib. no. 1064, Cullingus Ellis, Intr. II p. 306, to culan fenne CS no. 1082, (†)to cules felda ib. no. 620. The same p. n. occurs in the local Cowlinge Suffolk (see Skeat: Pl. Ns of Suff. p. 72).

$\begin{array}{ccc} \textbf{Collingbourne} & \textbf{Ducis} \\ & & \textbf{Kingston} \end{array} \right\} \text{NNW of Ludgershall.}$

903 Colengaburnam (Lat. acc.) CS no. 602; 921 on Collengaburnan, †at Colingburne ib. no. 635; 931 æt Collinga burnan ib. no. 678; 1086 Colingeburne (= C. Ducis), Coleburne (= C. Kingston) DB; 1234 Coligburn' (= Ducis or Kingston) Cl. R; 1256 Colingeburne (= Ducis) Pat. R; c. 1290 Colingeburn Comit.; Colingeburn Abbis (= Kingston) T. Eccl.; 1323 Colyngburn Valence (= Ducis) C. Inq.; 1402 Colyngborne Valence FA; 1428 Colyngbourne Comitis, Colyngbourne Abbatis ib.; 1479 Colingbourne Valaunce R. Pat.

The stream on which these places are situated is now called simply 'the Bourne' (a tributary of the East Avon), the same which in OE times was called Winterburna in its lower course; see Winterbourne (Dauntsey), below. The patronymic is most probably formed from Cola, for which name see Calcutt, above.

For the distinctive names see Jones, p. 208.

Combe near Enford.

1279 de Combe Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1329 Coumbe C. Inq.; 1428 in Combe FA.

OE cumb (see Alcombe).

Compton NW of Enford.

e. 1080 of Cuntume (or = C. Chamberlayne) Cal. France: 1086 Contone DB, p. 69 a; 1329 Compton C. Inq.: (n. d.) Cumppton Cat. A. D.

Originally *cumb- $t\bar{u}n$. n for m is due to assimilation

with t.

Compton Bassett NE of Calne.

1086 Contone DB, p. 70 d; 1182 Comtona Br. Mus.; 1220—28 de Cumptone Macray; c. 1225 Cumton Br. Mus.; 1271 Cumpton Bassett C. Inq.; 1324, 1402 Compton Bassett FA.

See preceding name. The manor was formerly in possession of the Norman Bassett-family; see TN, p. 141.

Compton Chamberlayne WSW of Wilton.

1086 Contone DB, 65 a; 1250, 1275 Cumpton C. Inq.; 1316 Compton Chamberleyne FA; 1318 Cumpton Chamberlayne Ch. R; 1325 Compton Chamberlayn C. Inq.

For the distinctive name see Jones, p. 209.

Conock SE of Devizes.

1316 de Coneke FA; 1348 de Connoke R. Pat.; 1372 Connok Br. Mus.

This is undoubtedly a Celtic word, the same as Irish and Gaelic *enoc* (= hillock, knoll); see 'knock' NED, and Macbain. The svarabhakti vowel is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson p. 49 f. Cf. Knook, below.

Coombe Bissett SW of Salisbury.

1086 Cumbe DB; c. 1115, 1158 Cumba Osmund; early 14th cent. de Cumbe TN; 1385 Combebysset Cal. Inq.; 1402 de Coumbe Byset FA.

OE cumb. 'Bissett' is certainly an AN family name. In the time of Henry III, Johis Biset was tenant here; see TN, p. 155.

Corsham [Regis] WSW of Chippenham.

1001 †Coschám CD no. 706; [1015] †Cosham AS Chr. [E]; 1086 Cosscham DB; 1130 Cosscham H. Pipe R; 1157 Cosscham Cal. France; 1194 Cossam Rot. Cur.; 1225 Corshā R. fin. exc.; 1230 Cosham, Corsham Ch. R; 1243 Corsham ib.; Edw. I Cossam Plac. Warr.; 1284, 1302, 1309, 1310 Cosham ib.; 1316 Cosham FA; 1334 Cosscham Rot. Orig.; 1394 Cosham Br. Mus.; 1428 Cosham FA.

The first element is difficult to account for. The old forms quoted show that it cannot possibly have the same first element as Corsley, Corston, or Corton (below). Corsham may therefore be derived either from Cusanham, Cusaheing recorded as an OE p. n., or from Cusanham, Cusaheing perhaps a hypocoristic form of the Celtic Cospatric. The change of Cos > Cors- may simply be due to the influence of Corsley and Corston. In DB the King is mentioned as chief tenant here.

Note. It is obvious that Corsham cannot be identical with (to) cortes hamme CD no. 436, as has been suggested by Kemble. The latter place was moreover situated in the extreme south of the county (in the vicinity of Bower and Broad Chalk).

Corsley WNW of Warminster.

1086 in Corselie DB; 1166 Corselea Pipe R; 1232 Corslegh Ch. R; 1233, 1245 Corsleg ib.; 1265—70 de Corsleyghe Macray; c. 1290 Corsle Magna T. Eccl.; 1316 de Corseleghe FA; 1369 Cossleye Cal. Inq.; 1402 Corsle Magna FA; 1428 Parva Corslegh ib.

This name may be derived from *cors-lēah (-lēaze), cors being the same Celtic word that seems to occur in the following name, but we may also assume an original *at Corsan lēaze [Corston (W. of Bath), Soms., occurring as

Corsan tān (on corsan streame) CS nos. 767, 1287]. Whether Corsan is identical with the above-mentioned Celtic word or is a p. n., it is impossible to determine.

Corston S of Malmesbury.

1065 Corstuna CD no. 817; 1086 in Corstone DB; 1317 Crostone C. Inq.

The place is situated on an affluent of the Lower Avon, which is now called 'Gauze brook'. This stream is no doubt identical with (†)Corsaburna, †Corsborne, mentioned in CS nos. 103, 470, probably also with †Corsbrok CS no. 922, †Coresbrok CD no. 632 (see besides Akerman's map in Archæologia XXXVII: I). The first element is most probably a Celtic word, the same as Welsh cors = 'bog', 'marsh'; see Pughe-Pryse.

Note. Corsantune CD no. 457 is not identical with this place, as is stated in Kemble, but with Corston, Soms.

Corton or Cortington SSE of Heytesbury.

1086 Cortitone DB (prob. identical); 1130—35 Cortun Osmund; c. 1290 Cortyngton(e) T. Eccl.; Edw. I de Cottyntton' Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Cortone FA; 1428 Cortyngton ib.

Originally *Cortinga tūn, Corting being certainly a patronymic of the Frisian p. n. Cort (Coert, Curt), for which see Winkler, p. 219, and Stark, p. 136. The same p. n. occurs in to cortes hamme CS no. 917, which was situated in south Wilts. (in the vicinity of Bower and Broad Chalk), probably also in †Cortimæde ib. 1009 (near Bath, Soms.)¹.

This explanation of the latter name seems far more plausible than the one given by Middendorff, p. 30, according to whom the first element contains an unrecorded OE adj. *cort, parallel to OFris., OS kurt, OHG (MHG, mod. G) kurz (adopted from Lat. curtus). As a matter of fact, there is no evidence in support of an OE *cort (*curt); cortimæde, which is the only name that Middendorff adduces to support his assumption of this adj., is quite satisfactorily explained as above.

Corton E of Hilmarton.

1086 Crostone DB (prob. identical); 1428 Corston (twice) FA. The original form may have been *cros-tūn. OE cros (= $r\bar{o}d$), found only in local nomenclature, is, according to NED, the Norse kross, which is adopted from OIrish cros. In the present case, however, cros is naturally to be considered as an ordinary Celtic survival, as the Wilts. pl. ns seem to be quite free from Scand, elements (except p. ns).

Corton offers an example of the omission of a stem -s in the middle of a pl. n. (another instance is Gardone, the DB form of Garsdon; see below). How are we to explain a loss of this kind? In connection with Alderbury, attention has been drawn to the common omission of the gen. s of a p. n., when it occurs as a first element in pl. ns. In the light of this, a plausible reason for the loss of a stem-s in such cases as Corton, Gardone would be that the first element even in these names has been considered by the Anglo-Normans as the gen. of a p. n. and treated as such.

Note. The numerous cases in which an unetymological s has been inserted in the composition-joint, on the other hand, ought to be explained simply as due to analogy with those pl. ns which have a gen. s after the first element, i. e. exactly the same explanation as has been given for the intrusive -ing-(-in-) suffix in such forms as ME Geresindon (= Garsdon), Lutlyngton (= Littleton Drew), mod. Sherrington, Uppington, etc., viz. the analogy of pl. ns, in which the first element is a patronymic.

Coulston, East and West SW of Potterne.

1086 Covelestone DB; 1199? de Couelestoñ Rot. Cur.; c. 1290 de Covelestone T. Eccl.; 1300 Coueleston Ch. R; 1316 Couleston FA; 1324 Couveleston Fine R.; 1428 Couveleston, Coueleston FA.

Obviously from *Cufeles $t\bar{u}n$, *Cufel being a diminutive of the p. n. Cufu. v has here been vocalized to u in ME, which u together with the preceding one has given \bar{u} . Cf. Cowesfield, below, and Cowley Oxfs. (<*wt Cufan $l\bar{e}aze$) (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 86); cf. also NE hawk (< hafoe).

Cowage another name for Bremilham.

1275 at Cowiche C. Inq.; c. 1290 Cowyk T. Eccl.; 1540 Cowych Dugdale.

From OE $c\bar{u}$ (= cow) and $w\bar{v}c$ (here to be taken in the sense of 'farm'). The mod. -age is due to weakening. Cf. Burbage.

Cowbridge near Malmesbury.

1409 Coubryge Phillipps' fines; (n. d.) de Coubrigg(e), de Choubrigge Reg. Malm.

No comments necessary.

Cowesfield E of Whiteparish.

1086 Colesfelde (possibly identical), Cuulestone ¹ DB; 1166 Cuuelesfeld Pipe R; 1206 in Culefeld R. L. Cl.; 1217 Cuvelesfeld Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1272 Colneston Sturmy ² (corrupt), Coleston Spileman ², Coleston Loveraz ² Pat. R; 1291 Colesfeld Cl. R; 1294 Covelesfeld Cal. Inq.; 1316 de Couelesfelde FA; 1319 Covelesfeld Pat. R; 1337 Couuelesfeld Loveras Ch. R; 1402 Coulesfeld Sturmy et Spylman, C. Loveras FA; 1490 Coulesfild Esturmy, Coulesfeld Spilman C. Inq.

The first element is no doubt the same as in Coulston. The name is consequently derived from *Cufeles feld. The loss of l in the present name, as compared with its survival in the case of Coulston, is due entirely to sound-physiological reasons 3. 'Esturmy' (Sturmy), 'Loveras', and 'Spileman' are family names, the two former AN, the latter Continental-Germanic.

¹ On account of the different terminations there may naturally be some doubt about the identity here too, but the places were at least situated in the same hundred (Frustfield), and the first elements are undoubtedly the same. Cf. the forms quoted from Pat. R.

² Identical according to the editor of Pat. R.

³ If l had been kept in the present name, a much more difficult combination of sounds would have arisen than in the case of *Coulston* (on account of the fricative f).

⁵ E. Ekblom

Cricklade [krikleid].

[904] ad Criccaladam Asser; [905] to Crecca gelade A. Chr. [Ā], to Creocegelade ib. [D]; [1016] at Cricgelade ib. [D], at Cracilade ib. [E], at Crecalade ib. [F]; 1086 de Crichelade DB; 1130 Grechelada, Crekelade Macray; c. 1170 Criechelada Cal. France; 1231 Crikelad Ch. R; Hen. III Kerkelad' Rot. H; 1255 de Crikkelade Pat. R; 1260 Kyrkelad ib.; 1276 Crekelad Ch. R; c. 1290 Creekelade T. Eccl.; 1316 de Crekklade FA; 1319 Kirikelade, Creeklade Cal. inq. da.; 1376 Crekkelaude Phillipps' fines.

The first element of this name is certainly not Germanic, for the mere fact that we find such a variety of spellings in the AS Chr. indicates that it did not contain an element which was part of the AS vocabulary. The name has already been the subject of some discussion. Mc Clure, p. 261, foot-note 3, takes Crick- to be connected either with Welsh craig = 'rock', or with cruc = 'mound'. Pearson, p. 11, also identifies the element with craig. These suggestions seem, however, most unlikely, particularly when compared with the explanation given by Duignan in connection with his discussion of the etymology of Penkridge (Notes on Staffs, Pl. Ns, p. 115 f.). According to him, Crick- is a Celtic word, meaning boundary, 'frontier' (the same as Irish crioc, crich); see Stokes, p. 98. Consequently Cricklade would originally indicate 'the boundary between Mercia and Wessex, which was formed by the Thames (OE zelād here = 'water-way'; cf. Chapmanslade, Chicklade). Crekkelaude (Phillipps' fines) indicates retention of the long vowel in the termination; cf. Chicklaude FA (Chicklade). The form Grechelada (Macray), if not a mere error, may be due to popular etymology; (according to Camden, p. 102, a Greek school is said to have been founded here by a certain Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury).

Crockerton S of Warminster.

1350 Crokerton Phillipps' fines; 1463 Crokerton Cal. Inq.; 1467 N. Crokerton Br. Mus.; 1495 Crokerton C. Inq.

Originally *croccera (or possibly crocceres) $t\bar{u}n$. OE *croccere [a nomen agentis from crocc(a)] = 'potter'. This explanation of the first element seems far more probable than assuming with Roberts, p. 52, a p. n. *Crochere.

Crofton ENE of Burbage.

1194 in Corfton Rot. Cur. (possibly ident.): 1283 Crofton C. Inq.: 1316, 1428 Crofton FA.

Originally *croft- $t\bar{u}n$ (= enclosed croft).

Croucheston E of Broad Chalk.

1328 Crucheston(c), Croucheston C. Inq.: 1340 Crucheston Phillipp's fines; 1373 Cryucheston ib.

The etymology is obscure.

Crudwell N of Malmesbury.

854 †at Croddewelle CS no. 470; at Criddanwylle Thorpe; 901 †de crud(d)ewelle CS no. 586; [956 †Cruddesetene imere CS no. 922]; 1065 Creddewilla CD 817; 1086 Credvelle DB; 1180 Credewella Pipe R; 1194 de Credewalle Rot. Cur.; 1222 Credewell(e) Macray; c. 1290 de Crudewelle T. Eccl.: 1316 Credewell FA; 1428 Crudewell ib.

The fact that this place is situated near the source of one of the head-streams of the Thames points to the probability that the first element represents the ancient (Celtic) name of this stream (the mod. name is 'Swill brook'). This supposition is strongly supported by the term †Cruddesetene imere (= zemēre) CS no. 922 (in the same neighbourhood), Cruddesetene (originally gen. plur.) probably denoting 'the people living on this stream'; cf. Wilsætan AS Chr. A. D. 800 (see Introduction) and †fromesetinga (gen. plur.) CS no. 1127 (referring to the r. Frome, Soms.).

Dauntsey [daan(t)si] SE of Malmesbury.

850 †Dometesig CS no. 457; †(de) Daunteseye, †(in) Dameteseye ib. no. 458; †(de) Damices eye, †(in) Dameces eye CD no. 263; 854 at Domeccesige CS no. 470; 1065 †Dometesig CD no. 817; 1086 Dantesie DB; 1142—50 Dantesia Osmund; 1162 Danteseia Pipe R; 1178? Dantesi Br. Mus.; Hen. III Dantese C. Inq.; 1257 of Donteseye Cat. A. D.; 1270 Dauntesa (lat.) Ch. R; c. 1290 de Daunteseye T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Dauntesey FA.

Originally *Dŏmices $\bar{\imath}e\bar{\zeta}$ ($\bar{\imath}e\bar{\zeta}$ here = 'marshy land', as is always the case in Wilts. pl. ns). *Dŏmic is to be regarded as a diminutive form of *Dŏma (<*Dōma), a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with $D\bar{o}m$ - (e. g. $D\bar{o}mfrith$, $D\bar{o}m-here$). For the diminutive suffix -ic (-ee) see Eckhardt, p. 345. The fact that OE \bar{o} before nasals only occurred as a variant of a (W. Germ. \bar{o} before nasals > u in OE) explains the a vowel in the first syllable. The m has in the earliest ME been changed into n by assimilation with the following (tf). Moreover, the fricative (f) has disappeared through assimilation with the following s. [t for e in the earliest of the forms quoted above may naturally as well be due to orthographical confusion, on account of the similarity of these two letters. Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 32, gives several examples of such errors.]

au is due to AN influence; see Zachrisson § 9.

Dean, West SE of Salisbury.

1086 Duene DB; 1269 Westdune C. Inq.; 1281 Dene, Deone ib.; 1296 Westdoene Pat. R; 1309 Westdeene C. Inq.; 1314 at Westdune, Dene, Duene ib.; 1320 Westden Pat. R; 1324 Deone FA; 1371 Westden Br. Mus.: 1402 Deone FA; 1485 West Dene C. Inq.

OE denu, dene (= valley), the place being situated in the valley of an affluent of the r. Test. The ME forms give a good picture of the complete confusion of don (OE $d\bar{u}n$)

and dene (OE denu, dene) which is so common in English place-nomenclature.

Deptford [detfo(r)d] on the Wiley near Fisherton Delamere. 1086 Depeford DB; 1236 Depeford Ch. R; early 14th cent. Dupeford TN; 1316 Depeford FA; 1386 Deopeford Phillipps' fines; 1428 Depeford FA.

Originally *se dēopa ford. In the NE pronunciation the p has been replaced by t for sound-physiological reasons. For u as a representative of OE eo see under Bemerton.

Derriads SW of Chippenham.

1227 Derierd Ch. R.

This single ME form which has been found indicates that the termination was OE zeard (zeardas?) = 'enclosed place', the loss of r in the mod. form being due to weakened stress. The plur. s may quite well be of a later date. The first element may go back either to $d\bar{e}or(a)$ (cf. e. g. on deor leage CS no. 1108, Deorham ib. no. 1282) or to $D\bar{e}oran$, gen. of $D\bar{e}ora$, a pet-form of some p. n. beginning with $D\bar{e}or$, of which there are a great number.

Devizes $[d\partial v \cdot aiziz]$.

1141—42 Divisas Br. Mus.; 1146 Divisis Macray; 1149 Divises, apud Divisas ib.; 1227 Devizes Ch. R; 1229 Devises ib.; 1279 Divises C. Inq.; 1290 Dyvises Br. Mus.; 1331 Vises Cl. R; La Wyses C. Inq.; 1333 Dyvyses ib.; 1472 'the vyse' Cat. A. D.; 1485 Le Devisez C. Inq.

This name, which has been discussed by Guest, p. 254 f., and by Zachrisson, Anglia XXXIV, p. 319, is an anglicization of the OFrench plur. devises, and here certainly denotes some boundary line. The suggestion offered by Guest and Zachrisson that the present name may have originally indicated the frontier forest between Wales and Wilts. seems, however, not to fit in with the geographical conditions. It may rather have referred simply to some

boundary line between two properties, a meaning of devise, d'vise, which is still retained in Normandy.

For the French article and the shortened ME forms see Zachrisson, loc. cit. According to Guest, p. 255, Devizes was founded in the 12th cent.

Dilton SSW of Westbury.

1221 in Dultun R. fin. exc.; 1249, 1264, 1275 Dultun C. Inq.; early 14th cent. Dolton TN; 1324, 1402, 1428 Dulton FA.

The most plausible etymology of this name is *Dyllan $t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a p. n., the same as the one contained in Dillington Hunts. (<*Dyllinga $t\bar{u}n$, see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Hunts., p. 349), and Dullingham Cambs. (<*Dyllinga $h\bar{a}m$, Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs., p. 22). It is very probable, as Skeat has suggested, that this p. n. is a nick-name, identical with the ME adj. dill, dylle (= dull), which point to an OE *dyl, dylle (<*duljo-), cognate to OE dol (<*dulo-); see 'dull' NED. Whether the element Dil- in the p. ns Dilmun (*Dilmund) and Dilra is the same, it is impossible to say. o in Dolton (TN) stands for u, which has been considered as original, (a not infrequent mistake).

Note. Dilworth, Lancs., of which Wyld gives an unsatisfactory explanation, probably contains the same first element. o in ME Dolleworth (quoted by Wyld) is in that case easily explained (as in Dollon).

Dinton W of Wilton.

1086 Domnitone DB [partly corrupt]; 1268 Domington Pat. R; 1316 Domington FA; 1324 Domynton, Dynton ib.; 1375 Dunynton Cl. R; 1428 Domyngton FA: Dunyton Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1492 Dynton C. Inq.

On account of the comparatively great number of forms with o in the first syllable, it seems necessary to assume an original name of two types: *Dunninga tūn

(without mutation), and *Dynninga $t\bar{u}n$ (which has survived). The patronymic is formed from the p. n. Dunn (Dunna).

On -i- for medial -ing- in DB see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 10 f.

Ditchampton [— — —] near Wilton.

1045 æt Dichæmatune CD no. 778; 1086 Dechementonc, in Dicehantone DB; 1195 de Dichamtoù Feet of fines; 1428 Dychampton FA; 1491 Dychehampton C. Inq.

The CD form is obviously the original name. $D\bar{\imath}c-h\bar{\alpha}ma$ (beside $*D\bar{\imath}c-h\bar{\alpha}mena$, a form which is indicated by the first DB form) is the gen. of $*d\bar{\imath}c-h\bar{\alpha}me$, a plural i-stem like Engle, Mierce, $Nor\delta hymbre$, etc. (consequently denoting the inhabitants of $*d\bar{\imath}c-h\bar{\alpha}m'$); see on this point Napier & Stevenson, Crawf. ch., p. 116 f., where several instances of a similar formation are given.

Association with the common element -hampton has then taken place in the earliest ME (cf. Beckhampton).

Ditteridge or Ditcheridge near Box.

1086 Digeric DB; 1167 Digeriga, Dicherigga (latinized forms) Pipe R; 1284 Ditherigg Cl. R; 1285 in Dichrugge Ch. R; 1375 Dykerigge Cal. Inq.; 1378 Dicherich ib.; 1428 in Dycherygge FA; 1443 Dykerygge Cal. Inq.

From *dic-hrycz, the sense of which is obvious. The change of tf > t in Ditteridge is due to dissimilation with the final fricative consonant.

The medial e is merely a connecting vowel.

Note. Alexander is certainly incorrect in explaining Ditchley (Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 94) from *dīce-lēaze or *dīca-lēaze (dīce being the gen. of the fem. dīc. and dīca gen. plur.), for these forms would on the contrary have given mod. *Dickley. OE dīc-lēaze, on the other hand, would become Ditchley by the influence of the independent subst. dīc (> ditch).

Donhead St. Andrew ENE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

871 †Dunheued, †Dunehefda (latinized) CS no. 531; 955 †to dun heafdan ib. no. 917; 956 †Dunheued ib. no. 970; 1086 Duneheve DB (partly corrupt); 1199 Dunneheued Feet of fines; 1235 Dunheved Pat. R; Hen. III Doneheved Rot. H; 1279 Donhaved C. Inq.; 1284 de Donhevede (alias Dunhefd) ib.; c. 1290 Dunhef(de Sce Marie) T. Eccl.; 1316 Dounheved FA; 1334 Dounhevid Cat. A. D.; 1345 Donehevede St. Andr' Cal. Inq.; 1364 Dounehead St. Mary Phillipps' fines; 1428 Dunhed Andree, D. Marie FA.

From $*d\bar{u}n$ - $h\bar{e}afod$ ('head or top of a down'). -heafdan in the 955 form may stand for the dat. plur. -heafdum, but it may quite as probably be explained in the same way as Brytfordan and Cellanwirdan (see Britford and Chelworth). The distinctive names refer to churches.

Downton SSE of Salisbury.

about 670 (to) Duntun(e) CS no. 27; 826 Duntun ib. no. 391; 905 to Duntune ib. no. 690; 909 Duntun ib. nos. 620, 621 (prob. identical); 948 in Duntune ib. no. 862; 997 æt Duntune CD no. 698; 1086 Duntone DB; 1199 de Dunnetoù Feet of fines (prob. identical; cf. Dunneheued, above); 1284 Dunton Ch. R; 1316, 1402 Dounton FA.

The sense is obvious.

Note. Kemble's identification of *Duntun*, in the charters nos. 599 and 610, with this place is not convincing.

Draycot Cerne N. of Chippenham.

1086 Draicote DB 74 c; c. 1170? Draicot Osmund; c. 1180 Draycotha (latinized) Macray; 1228 Draycot Ch. R; 1304 in Draycote ib.; 1402 in Draycote Cerne FA.

Originally *dræz-cot(e). The element dray (OE *dræz), which occurs both in Draycot(t) and Drayton, two very common pl. ns all over England, is difficult to account for. It seems likely, however, as Skeat (Pl. Ns of Cambs.,

p. 9) has suggested, that this word is connected with the dialectal dray (of unknown origin) = 'a squirrel's nest', a probable sense of the element dræz in pl. ns being therefore, according to Skeat, 'place of shelter', 'retreat'. However this may be, the fact that the element in question is so common in pl. ns, while there is otherwise no trace of it in the language, indicates that it is a Celtic word. As a second element it occurs in Dundræg CD no. 816 (probably = Dundry, Soms.). 'Cerne' was a French family name.

Draycot Fitz Payne NW of Pewsey.

1086 Draicote DB 66 b (prob. identical).

See preceding name. 'Fitz Payne' is a French family name.

Draycot Foliat SSE of Swindon.

1086 Dracote DB 71 b (partly corrupt); Edw. I in Draycote Plac. Warr.; 1307 Dreykote Folyott C. Inq.; 1309 Draicote Foliot, of Dreicote ib.; 1327 Draycote Folyot, Dreycote F. ib.; 1428 in Draycote FA.

See Draycot Cerne. For the distinctive name see Chilton Foliat.

Dunkirk near Devizes.

Although no early references have been found to this small place, I have preferred not to leave out the name on account of its great interest. It is obvious, that this place has been named by the Anglo-Normans after the Flemish Dunkerque (Dunkirk). Dunkirk in Kent, Glos., and Staffs. are certainly all to be explained in the same way.

Durnford SSW of Amesbury.

1086 Diarneford, Darneford DB (prob. identical); 1142—50 Derneford Sancti Andrew Osmund; 1158 Durneford ib.; c. 1163 Durneford Macray; 1198 Derneford Feet of fines; c. 1220 Deorneford Macray; c. 1235 de Derneforde ib.; c. 1290 Durneford Br. Mus.; 1308 Great Durneford C. Inq.; 1309 Derneford ib.; Edw. III Deorneford NI; 1428 M:a Durneford, P:a D. FA; 1540 Durnesford Dugdale.

From an original *se dierna (dyrna) ford ('the secret or hidden ford'). The first element is rather common in Engl. pl. ns. Beside its regular OE forms dierne, dyrne, derne, there must, however, have existed (sporadically) the variants *dearne, *deorne. This is indicated by the ME dearne, deorne (beside derne), which are also represented among the ME forms above [cf. also (†)deornan mor CD no. 570, p. 78, (†)diornanwiel CS no. 200]. These unmutated forms are certainly due to the analogy of OE dearnunga, deornunga, the adv. of dyrne; (for eo in the latter form see Bülbring § 144).

Durrington N of Amesbury.

1086 Derintone DB; 1178? Durentona, Hinedorintona Br. Mus.; 1199 in Hinedurinton, Hindorintona, de Durinton Rot. Ch.; c. 1200 Derinton Osmund; 1201 de Derinton R. Oblat.: King John Durenton Dugdale; 1215 in Durintone Macray; 1228 in Dirinton R. fin. exc.; 1256 Durinton C. Inq.; 1270 Durentona, Hinedurintona, Hinedurnetona Ch. R.; 1286 Kingderinton, Hinderinton ib.; c. 1290 Diryngtone T. Eccl.; 1316, 1324 Durynton FA; 1428 Duryngton ib.

Originally *Dyringa $t\bar{u}n$. Whether the patronymic is formed from $D\bar{e}ora$ (a shortened form of some name beginning with $D\bar{e}or$ -), or from Dyra (found on a coin of the time of Æthelred II, and in the local to dyran treowe CS no. 721), it is naturally impossible to decide. It is, however, by no means impossible that Dyra is merely a variant of Deora, formed from Dyring, the patronymic of the latter name. Cf. Tud(d)a, *Tyd(d)a, see Tedworth. For the e-vowel in the first syllable see under Biddestone.

How are we to explain the distinctive Hin(e)- (King-) in some of the ME forms? The Secretary of Wilts. Archæol. Soc., Rev. E. H. Goddard, has informed me that Hin(e)-can hardly be a misspelling for King-, as the place never seems to have been crown property; (this is also unlikely from the fact that only one form with King- has been

found). It appears, however, from Rot. Ch. and Ch. R that there were formerly two manors here, and it seems therefore probable that *Hine*- stands for the (ME) adv. *In*, *Inne*, *Hinedurinton* being the inner part of the land which is encircled by the bend of the r. Avon at this place. For the initial h see under Avon.

Earl Stoke or Erlestoke SW of Potterne.

1239 Erlestok Ch. R; 1316 de Erlestoke FA; 1325 Erlystok Cl. R: 1391 Eorlestoke Cal. Inq.; 1431 Erlestok Br. Mus. Originally *wt eorles (or eorla) stoce. OE eorl = 'a man of noble rank' (distinguished from a ceorl or 'ordinary free-man') 1. For OE stoc see under Bayerstock.

Eastcott SE of Potterne.

1349 Esteote Cal. Inq.; 1500 in Esteote Br. Mus.; 1546—48 in Escotte ib.

No comments needed.

Eastcott near Swindon.

1488 *Escot* C. Inq.

Note. Kemble's identification of †Estcote CD no. 329, †Eastcotun ib. nos. 584, 817, †Escote ib. no. 585, and †eastcoten ib. no. 1099 with Eastcott, Wilts. (which of them he refers to we are not told) must be incorrect. Of these, Estcote no. 329, and Eastcotun no. 817 are obviously identical with Eastcourt, probably also Eastcotun no. 584 (see below). eastcoten no. 1099 was situated in south Beds. (see CS no. 659). Escote CD no. 585 seems impossible to identify. There are however no reasons for taking it to be one of the present Eastcotts in Wilts.

Eastcourt NE of Malmesbury.

901 †de Escote CS no. 586; 974 †Eastcotun ib. no. 1301 (prob. identical); 1065 †Eastcotun CD 817; 1222 de Estcote Macray; (n. d.) Escote, Estcote Reg. Malm.

The late OE earl denoting 'a Danish under-king' (see Björkman, Loanwords, p. 236) can hardly come into consideration here.

Originally *\bar{e}ast-cot(e), with a late substitution of court for cot. Eastcotun may have been written under the influence of pl. ns in -tun.

Easton NE of Devizes.

1428 Eston FA.

Originally *ēast-tūn.

Easton (Royal) E of Pewsey.

1232 Eston Ch. R; 1251 Eston ib. (prob. identical); 1349 Easton R. Pat.; 1428 Eston FA.

Jones states as his opinion (p. 228) that this place, not being specially mentioned in DB, may have been a portion of the large manor of *Otone* (mod. Wootton Rivers), of which the King himself was the chief tenant. This would consequently explain the epithet 'Royal'.

Easton Bassett E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

956 †to Estune CS no. 970; Edw. I in Estone Rot. H. 'Bassett' is an AN family name (see Berwick B.).

Easton Grey W of Malmesbury.

1086 Estone DB 72 c; Edw. I in Eston' Grey Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Estone Grey FA; 1323 Estone Grey C. Inq. 'Grey' is a family name.

Easton Piercy NW of Chippenham.

1086 Estone DB 70 b; Estone ib. 73 a (possibly); 1257 Eston C. Inq.

'Piercy' is certainly an AN family name, the same as 'Piers', 'Pierce' (see Bardsley).

Eastridge NE of Ramsbury.

1221 Estrigg Pat. R; 1316 de Estrygge FA; 1438 Estrygh Cat. A. D.

OE *ēast-hrycz; hrycz = 'ridge' (of a down).

Eastrop near Highworth.

Hen. III or Edw. I Esthrop Br. Mus.; Edw. I in Estthropp' Rot. H: 1328 Estthrop Br. Mus.; 1333 Estrop C. Inq.; 1335 Estthorp Cal. Inq.; 1336 Hesthorp Rot. Orig.; 1352 Esthorp Phillipps' fines; 1402 Esthropp FA.

OE *\(\bar{e}ast-\text{porp}(-\text{prop}) = '\text{farm'}, '\text{hamlet'}. \(throp > trop \) is due to AN influence; see Zachrisson \(\xi \) 2. Cf. Westrop, below.

Ebbesborne Wake on the r. Ebble near Alvediston.

about 670 (†) on Ybbles burnan, †on Ebblesburnan CS no. 27: 826 †to ebles burnan ib. no. 391; 902 †æt Eblesburnan ib. no. 599 (prob. identical): 905 †on Ebles burnan ib. no. 690; 909 † in Ebles burnan ib. nos. 620, 621 (prob. identical): 948 †in Ebles burnan ib. no. 862; (†)on Yblesburnan (†Eblesburnan) ib. no. 863; 955 †of ebbeles burnan ib. no. 917; 956 †to Eblesburnan ib. no. 962 (prob. identical); 957 † et Eblesburnan ib. no. 1004 (prob. identical); 961 †æt Eblesburnan ib. no. 1071 (prob. identical); 986 † et Eblesburnan CD no. 655; about 995 †et Ebbelesburnan ib. no. 1290: 997 †on Eblesburnan ib. no. 698; 1086 Eblesborne DB: 1184 Ebleburn Pipe R: 1205 Eblesburne Cal. Rot. Ch.: 1222 Ebeleborn Osmund; 1224 Eleburne Wake Macray (corrupt): Ebleburne Pat. R: 1250 Ewelburn, Evelburn R. fin. exc.; c. 1260 Ebelesburne-wake Macray: 1270 Ebbelesburn Wak C. Inq.; Edw. I Ewlesburne Wake Rot. H: early 14th cent. Ebbesburn TN; 1345 Ebblesborneswake Cl. R: 1402, 1428 Eblesbourne (Wake): 1428 Ebbesborn FA.

Originally *at Yb(b)cles burne (burnan), viz. the affluent of the East Avon which is now called 'the Ebble' 1. *Yb(b)cl is a diminutive form of the common OE p. n. Ub(b)a [also occurring in Upton (Lovel); see below]. The development of the initial y into e cannot possibly be regular, because OE 'festes' y develops into i in the Wilts. dialects. The e in the

¹ This is evidently a back-formation from the original name.

present name must therefore be due to the influence of some special name or word, possibly that of the Continental p. n. Ebulo (see Forssner, p. 62), or perhaps rather of the subst. ebb. Cf. Nettleton < *Nyttelan (Nyttelinga) $t\bar{u}n$, in all probability from association with the subst. nettle (see below). v, w in some of the ME forms is a mistake for b, bb.

The manor was in possession of the family of 'Wake' in the 13th and 14th cent. For this name see Bardsley.

Edington ENE of Westbury.

[878] to Epan dune AS Chr. [Ā] (prob. identical); 880—85 at Eðandune, †de Ethandtune CS no. 553 (prob. ident.); 957 Eðandun ib. nos. 999, 1347 (prob. ident.); 968 Edyndon ib. no. 1215; 1086 in Edendone (twice) DB; c. 1290 de Edyngdone, Edinton T. Eccl.; 1354 Edyngdon Cl. R; 1428 Edyngdon FA; 1432 Edyngdon Br. Mus.; 1485, 1496 Edyngdon C. Inq.

This place has been claimed as the scene of King Alfred's victory over the Danes in 878, on account of the ancient camp in the neighbourhood (at Bratton Castle). Among those who maintain this theory is Stevenson (Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 273), where he also calls attention to the probability that $E\delta and un(e)$ CS nos. 553, 999, 1347 is the same place. $E\delta an$ may represent the gen. of a p. n. * $E\delta a$ of unknown origin. For the change of $\delta > d$ see Zachrisson, p. 97. The termination was originally $d\bar{u}n$.

Eisey [aizi] near Cricklade.

775—778 †Eseg, (†)Esig CS no. 226 (prob. identical); 855 wt †Esege ib. no. 487 (prob. identical); 1086 Aisi DB; 1428 Eysy FA; 1540 Eysy Br. Mus.

The termination was certainly OE iez (= marshy land), the hamlet being situated on low ground near the Thames. For the etymology of the first element, it is impossible to make any suggestion from the evidence of the old forms which have been found. The modern pronunciation must be due

to the influence of *Isis*, the name of the branch of the Thames that passes here.

Elcombe SW of Swindon.

1086 Elecome DB; 1167 Ellecūba Pipe R; 1179 Hellecumba ib. (prob. identical); 1250 Ellecumb Ch. R; 1268 of Ellecumbe ib.; 1286 Elecumbe C. Inq.; 1316 de Elecombe FA; 1428 in Elecombe ib.

Probably from *Ellan cumb; Ella is most probably a variant of $\mathcal{E}lla$, both being shortened forms of p. ns beginning with $\mathcal{E}l$ -, El- [$< \mathcal{E}\delta el$ -]; see Müller, p. 45. For the absence of b in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Elcot near Marlborough.

1402 in Elcote Cal. inq. da.; 1412 Elcot ib.

The ME forms quoted are obviously insufficient to explain the first element. It may, however, perhaps have contained the p. n. *Ella*, like *Elcombe*.

Elston on Salisbury Plain SE of Tilshead.

1298 Winterborne Elston Cal. Inq.; 1316 Eliston FA; 1378 Eleston Cal. Inq.; 1383—84 Eliston Br. Mus.; 1428 Elyston FA.

Jones, p. 227, states as his opinion that this place was included in the 'two knights' fees', held, according to TN 142, at Orcheston by Elya(s) Giffard. If this was the case, it is most likely that the place is named after him. The distinctive name refers to the stream on which the place is situated (see Winterbourne Stoke, below).

Enford N of Amesbury.

934 Enedford, to Enedforda CS nos. 705, 706; 1086 Enedforde DB; 1222 de Eneford R. L. Cl.; 1267 Eneford Macray; 1284 Enesford Ch. R; 1285, 1290 Eneford ib.; early 14th cent. Enetford TN: 1316 de Eneforde FA; 1333 Enedford

Phillipps' fines; c. 1350 Eneford, Endford Br. Mus.; 1375 Endford Phillipps' fines; 1494 Enford C. Inq.; 1540 Endeford Dugdale.

'The ford of the ducks'.

Erchfont see Urchfont.

Erlestoke see Earl Stoke.

Etchilhampton [locally called 'Ashelton'] ESE of Devizes. 1194 Echehamt, de Ehelhāton Rot. Cur.; 1227 Hechelhamt' Cl. R; 1279 Echelhampton C. Inq.; 1288 Hichilhampton Dugdale; 1316 Echelhampton FA; 1321 Echelhamton, Hechelamton C. Inq.; 1349 Ethelhampton Cal. Inq.; 1464 Echelhampton vel Ethelhampton ib.

Originally *Eccelan $t\bar{u}n$ or possibly *Eccelan $h\bar{u}m$ - $t\bar{u}n$; for the former derivation cf. Beckhampton. *Eccela may be considered as a diminutive, probably of Ecca [for this p. n. see Müller, p. 52]. [The corresponding dim. of Acca would more probably have been *Æccela; cf. Æcci.] Ethel- for Echel- may be due to the common orthographic confusion between c and t (see under Dauntsey). The transition of tf > f in the modern pronunciation is explained by Zachrisson, p. 158 f., as an assimilatory process, which may easily have taken place when tf was followed by a consonant; cf. Wishford, below. For the initial h see under Avon.

Note. If *Ecesatingetone* in DB 69 b, 70 a, 74 a, is identical with this place, as Jones maintains, p. 213, the form in question must be corrupt.

Everley NW of Ludgershall.

704 † Eburleagh CS no. 108 (possibly identical); 1172 Euerlai Pipe R; 1265 Everle Pat. R: c. 1290 Everle T. Eccl.; 1296 Everley Cal. Inq.; 1316, 1428 Everle FA.

Originally *at Eoforan (Eofores? 1) leaze, *Eofora being a

¹ This form is, however, less probable on account of the total absence of any trace of the strong gen. ending in the old forms. That the first element would denote wild boar (OE cofor) seems quite excluded.

shortened form of such names as Eoforhwæt, Eofuruulf, etc. Ebur- in the CS form is a latinization of eofor.

Farleigh Wick or Farleywick NW of Bradford.

1393 Farleghwyke Cat. A. D.; 1396 Farlewyk Cal. Inq.

Originally this place was certainly called simply *wic, for which see Berwick B. Because of its proximity to [Monkton] Farleigh it was later called Farleigh Wick; cf. Bremhill Wick, Haydon Wick.

Farley E of Salisbury.

1086 Farlege DB 73 c (identical according to Jones); 1109—20 Fernelega Osmund; 1215—20 Ferlega ib.; 1227 de Farleye Macray; 1241 Farle Ch. R; c. 1244 in Farlege Macray; 1287 Farnle C. Inq.; 1329 Farlegh ib.

From an original *at [$p\bar{a}m$, $p\bar{a}re$] fearn-lēaze. OE fearn (= fern) is a common element in English pl. ns.

Faulstone [folst'n] SW of Salisbury.

Edw. I in Fallerstone Rot. H; 1328 Fallardeston(e) C. Inq.; 1376 Fallardeston R. Pat.; 1421 Fallerdeston Cal. Inq.

The p. n. (*) Fallard (*Fallerd), which is contained in this pl. n., seems to be introduced from France (on account of its first member, which can hardly be Germanic). Curiously enough, it has not been possible to find this p. n. in its independent form.

The termination corresponds to OE $t\bar{u}n$.

Fifield [faifi(j)ld] near Enford.

1086 Fifhide DB 65 c; 1285 Fifide Ch. R; Edw. I Fifhide Ep'i Rot. H; 1494 Fyffhyde C. Inq. [prob. identical].

Originally *fif hīda. A 'hīd' (earlier hīzid) was in OE times a measure of land, 'primarily the amount adequate for the support of one family with its dependants; at an early period defined as being as much land as could be 6 E. Ekblom

tilled with one plough in a year'; NED. The cognate OE hīwisc is synonymous in meaning. When hīd (hīda) occurs as a second element in pl. ns, it has as a rule not preserved its form unchanged in the modern name. Cf. Tilshead, Tinhead, below. The distinctive 'Ep[iscop]i' of the Rot. H form refers to the Bishop of Winchester, who is mentioned as the chief tenant here in DB.

Fifield Bavant W of Broad Chalk.

1086 Fifhide DB 70 c [identical according to Jones]; c. 1200 Fifhide Osmund; 1267 Fiffide Escudemor Ch. R; 1316 Fifhide FA; 1335 Fifide C. Inq.; 1428 Fiffyde, Fyffide FA.

See preceding name. The distinctive names are family names: 'Bavant' is French, 'Escudemor' [a Norman rendering of 'Scudamor(e)'] is stated by Bardsley to be native.

Figheldean [faiəldi(j)n] N of Amesbury.

1086 Fisgledene DB (partly corrupt); c. 1115 Ficheldene, Fikeldena Osmund; 1157 Fykeldene Macray; 1222 Fichelden Osmund; 1226 Fighelden, Fichelden Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1227 Fikelden Ch. R; 1229 Fighelden Pat. R; 1246 Fichelton Ch. R; 1252 Fikelden ib.; Hen. III Ficledene C. Inq.; 1267 Fyheldene, Fycheldene Macray; 1285 Fyhelden C. Inq.; c. 1290 Fighelden, Figheldene T. Eccl.; 1310 Fighilden Ch. R; 1316 Fyghelden FA; 1320 Fygheldene C. Inq.; 1324 Fyzelden FA; 1428 Fyghelden ib.

Apparently from an original *Fyzelan dene (denu), *Fyzela being probably a diminutive of Fuz, occurring as the name of a witness in CS no. 91, or of *Fuza, its weak equivalent, which seems to be contained in the local (on) Fuzan biorge CS no. 598.

-ch- is nothing but an AN spelling, probably due to some miscomprehension of the fricative [gh], and the fact that ch in early ME records has the double value of tf and k in this position accounts for the k-spellings also in the

present case. z for g in one of the FA forms is due to the orthographic similarity between these letters in the mss. Fighel- in the mod. name is an archaic spelling.

Fisherton Anger in the borough of Salisbury.

1086 Fiscartone DB (prob. identical); c. 1138 de Fissertone Osmund (or = F. Delamere); 1232 Fiskerton Ch. R (or = F. Delamere); 1272 Fisserton C. Inq.; 1279 Fisshelton ib.; 1285 Fissereton ib.; 1308 Fiserton, Fyssehertone ib.; 1309 Fysseherton, Fysherstone ib.; 1440 Fissherton Aucher Br. Mus.; 1487 Fisherton Aucher C. Inq.

From *fiscera $t\bar{u}n$. sk in Fiskerton, if not a mere spelling for sh (see under Steeple Ashton), is due to a native form with x, ks (see Björkman, Loanwords, p. 137) l for r in Fishelton may be a substitution due to OFrench soundlaws (see Zachrisson, p. 142 ff.).

'Anger' seems to be a corruption of 'Aucher' ('Auger'), an AN family which has been in procession of the manor here (see TN pp. 140, 156).

Fisherton Delamere on the r. Wiley.

1086 Fisertone DB; Edw. I in Fiskertone Rot. H; c. 1290 de Fissertone T. Eccl.; 1318 Fissherton C. Inq.; 1324 Fissherton ib.; 1491 Fissherton Dalamare ib.

See preceding name. 'Delamere' is an AN family name.

Fittleton SSE of Enford.

1086 Viteletone DB; 1219 in Fetelton R. fin. exc.; 1252 Fitelton Ch. R; 1275 Fitelton C. Inq.; 1279 Fhytelton ib.; 1284 Fytelton, Fetelton ib.; 1300 Fiteleton Cal. Inq.; 1302 Fitilton Cl. R; 1316 Fydelton FA; 1330 Fidelton C. Inq; 1464 Fetelton Cal. Inq.

Originally *Fitelan tūn, Fitela being a p. n. occurring in Beowulf and also in the local fitelan sladæs crundæl CS no. 705 (A. D. 934), which place was evidently situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Fittleton. Its strong

equivalent *Fitel* is on record in DB, Ellis, Intr. II p. 111, also rendered as *Vitel* ib., p. 249, the latter being the name of the tenant of the present place and of *Fisterberie* (Fosbury?) in the time of Edw. the Confessor¹. For further information on this p. n. see Binz, p. 191 f. As to e for i in some of the ME forms see Biddestone. For the interchange between intervocalic d and t in pl. ns see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 8 f.

Flamston SW of Wilton.

Edw. I in Flamberstone Rot, H; 1354 Flambardeston Phillipps' fines; 1428 Flamberdeston FA; 1440 Flamberdeston Br. Mus.; 1625 Flamston Br. Mus.

Flambard is a p. n. of Continental provenience; see Forssner, p. 89.

Fonthill Bishop E of Hindon. Fonthill Gifford SE of Hindon.

900 (†) Funteal, (†) Funtgeall CS no. 590; 901—924 (†) Funtial ib. no. 591; Eadgar (†) Funteal CD no. 610 (possibly identical); 984 (†) funtal CD no. 641; 1086 Fontel DB 65 c (= F. Bishop); Fontel ib. 72 c (= F. Gifford); 1199 in Funtell Rot. Cur.; 1243 Funtell Pat. R; 1257 Funtel Ch. R; 1284 Funtele ib.; c. 1290 Fontel [Giffard] Br. Mus.; Fontel Epi T. Eccl.; 1316 Fountell Gifford FA; 1402, 1428 Funtel(l) Episcopi ib.; 1428 Funtell Giffard ib.

The first element may have been OE font, *funt (= fountain, well), but the second part of the name (which shows a great similarity to that of Cherhill) it seems impossible to identify. Moreover, the forms quoted from CS and CD are not much to base a theory upon, as the charters in

¹ That this *Vitel* should have given the place its name, as is supposed by Jones, p. 238, is, however, by no means certain, as the local *fitelan sladæs crundæl*, quoted above, proves that a person called *Fitela* lived here more than a cent. before the time of Edw. the Conf.

which they occur are obviously ME falsifications. It is quite clear, however, that -hill in the modern name (just as in the case of *Bremhill* and *Cherhill*) is a late development, due to popular etymology (referring to the hill close to Fonthill Gifford on which stands the sole relic of the old Fonthill abbey).

The distinctive 'Bishop' refers to the Bishop of Winchester, who obtained lands here in 900 (CS 590). 'Giffard' is an AN family name. In DB Berenger Gifard is mentioned as chief tenant at Fontel.

Fosbury S of Shalbourne.

1086 Fostesberge DB; Fistesberie ib. [prob. identical but corrupt]; 1199 Forstesbia Rot. Ch.; 1230—40 Forstebery, Forstebere Macray; 1270 Forstesbyria Ch. R; 1281 Forstesberia Br. Mus.; 1308 Forstebury, Westeforstebury C. Inq.; 1332 Westforsteburi ib.; 1428 Fostebury FA; 1486 Fostebury C. Inq.

From an original *at Forstan byriz (with an early substitution of strong for weak gen. ending), *Forsta being, no doubt, a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with Forst. Although no such names can be traced, there is little doubt that one or more of them may have existed. Whether Frostulf, found on a coin of the time of Æthelred II, is native or not, it is impossible to decide. Björkman, Pers. I, p. 44, gives this name as probably Scand., on account of the first member being Frost- and not Forst. It is to be noticed, however, that there existed also a native OE frost as a variant of forst (although the latter is the more common). As far as the present pl. n. is concerned, it can hardly contain the Scand. p. n. (if this really existed), as all the ME forms have Forst-.

Fovant [fovant] ESS of Hindon.

901 †Fobbanfuntan, †Fobbefunte CS no. 588; 994 †to Fobbefunten, †æt Fobbafuntan CD no. 687; 1086 Febefonte DB

(partly corrupt); 1194 de Fobbefone Rot. Cur.; 1267 de Fofunte Macray; 1280 in Fovunte Cl. R; Edw. I de Fofunte Rot. H; c. 1290 de Foffunte T. Eccl.; 1316 de Fovente FA; 1329 Foffonte C. Inq.; 1428 Fovent FA.

Originally *Fobban font (funt) [*æt Fobban fontum (funtum)]. OE font (*funt) = 'fountain', 'well'. The first element is certainly a weak p. n. *Fobba, occurring also in Fobban wylle in south Wilts., mentioned among the boundaries of Duntum (= Downton) in CS nos. 27, 391, 690, 863, and CD no. 698. Note also the local Fobbing, Sussex (1320 Fobbingge C. Inq., Fobbing TN, Edw. III Fobbynge NI) and also Fobing (Beds.) Pipe R. A. D. 1164, which evidently consist of the patronymic of the same p. n.

The development into *Fovant* is clear. The contraction by which b was lost seems to have taken place in the 13th cent.; as an immediate result of this contraction, the medial f become voiced. Later on the last syllable was weakened. The OE forms in *-funtan*, *-funten* probably represent the OE dat. plur.

Foxham NE of Chippenham.

1065 Foxham CD no. 817; 1219 Foxam, Foxham Macray; 1496 Foxham C. Inq.

OE *fox(a) $h\bar{a}m$. Alexander's suggestion that Foxcott, Oxfs. may have meant 'a cot whose owner trapped foxes' seems very plausible, and the same explanation may be offered for the present name as well.

Foxley SW of Malmesbury.

1086 Foxelege DB; 1227 Foxlegh Ch. R; c. 1290 Foxle T. Eccl.; 1428 Foxele FA.

Originally *æt fox(a) lēaze.

Fresdon [frezd'n] E of Highworth.

1262 Fersedon C. Inq.; 1307 Fershesdon ib.; 1335 Freshedon Phillipps' fines; 1343 Freshesden ib.; 1359 Fershesdon ib.; 1360 Ferschedon Cal. Inq.; 1376 Fresheton Cl. R.

The most plausible origin of this name that can be given is *fyrs-d $\bar{u}n$ [OE fyrs = furze]. If this is correct, it appears, however, that the first element has been confused with the ME adj. fers(e)h, fres(e)h [NE 'fresh']¹, in which case the e-vowel in the modern form is also to be regarded as a result of this confusion. The possibility of OE ferse having formed part of the original name seems quite excluded.

Froxfield W of Hungerford (Berks.).

803—805 †Forscan feld CS no. 324; 1303 Froxfeld Ch. R; early 14th cent. in Frockesfeld TN; 1428 Froxfeld, Froxefeld FA.

Originally *froxa (forsca) feld [OE frox, forse = 'frog']. Forscan in the quoted OE form is certainly a mistake for Forsc(a), due to the influence of the preceding Mildanhald in the OE charter. Cf. at Froxa felda CS no. 1174.

Fugglestone St. Peter [faulst'n] near Wilton.

1208 de Fuglestoù Rot. Ch.; 1280 Foleston, Fuleston, Foleton Cl. R; c. 1290 de Foghelestone T. Eccl.; 1296 Fouleston Pat. R; 1376 Fougheleston Cal. Inq.; 1428 Fogheleston FA; 1453 Fowleston Cal. Inq.; 1540 Fouleston Dugdale.

This name is to be derived from *Fuzules tūn, Fuzul here being certainly the p. n. recorded in LVD; see Müller, p. 40 f. The modern spelling is obviously archaic, but the pronunciation shows regular development. Cf. Foulston, W. R. of Yorks, Moorman, p. 75. 'St. Peter' is the name of a church.

[Furzley SE of Downton.

This name is inserted only because of Kemble's identification of † fyrslege CD no. 774, † Furesleage no. 1052, and

The fact that s and s(c)h (sc) were not kept apart in AN orthography makes it easy to understand how a confusion of this kind might take place.

Fyrsleage nos. 1117, 1140 with this place; there seems, however, to be no reason for this statement, if we examine the charters in question. The modern form, however, indicates an original *xet fyrs-leage (OE fyrs = furze).]

Fyfield [faifi(j)ld] W of Marlborough.

c. 1290 Fifhide T. Eccl.; 1300 Fyfhide Ch. R (prob. identical); 1428 Fyfyde FA; 1559 Fyfelde Br. Mus. See Fifield, above.

Garsdon E of Malmesbury.

701 †Gersdune CD no. 48; 1086 Gardone DB; c. 1291 Geresdon, Geresindon T. Eccl. (prob. identical); early 14th cent. Gareston TN; 1428 Garesden FA; (n. d.) de Garesdone, de la Garstone Reg. Malm.

Apparently from OE *gwrs-(grws-)d $\bar{u}n$ [gwrs, grws = grass]. For the loss of the final s in the first element of the DB form see Corton, above. The intrusive -in (-ing) in one of the T. Eccl. forms, a not uncommon phenomenon in Engl. pl. nomenclature, is due to the influence of pl. ns in which the first element is a patronymic [cf. e. g. Sherrington < OE *scearn-t $\bar{u}n$, below].

Gastard SW of Chippenham.

1167 Gatestert(a) Pipe R; 1172 de Gatesterd ib.; 1177, 1178 Gateherst (twice) ib.; 1179, 1184 Gatestert ib.; 1230, 1233 Gatestert Ch. R.

In all probability from an original * $g\bar{a}t(a)$ -hyrst [OE $g\bar{a}t$ = shegoat; hyrst = hurst, grove]. The first stage in the development of this name seems to have been early ME *Gateshyrst (through insertion of an unetymological s in the composition-joint). After syncope of the medial e in this form, metathesis of t and s has taken place, the immediate result of which was *Gasterst (the second element weakened) and

then *Gastert (the loss of s being due to dissimilation with the preceding st). *Gastert has then given mod. Gastard by further weakening of the second syllable. ME Gatestert must be explained as a contamination of the ME variants *Gates-herst and *Ga-stert; (cf. Bincknoll, above).

Goatacre SW of Wootton Bassett.

1348 Gatacre Cal. Inq.; 1408 Gotagre ib. (both prob. identical).

This name corresponds to OE * $g\bar{a}t$ - αcer , the sense of which is obvious.

Gomeldon SE of Amesbury.

Edw. I in Gomeledon' Rot. H; 1311 de Gomeldone, Gomeledon C. Ing.; 1326 Gomeldon ib.; 1658 Gumbleton Br. Mus.

The first element obviously contains the p. n. Gamal, Gamel, or perhaps rather its weak form *Gamela (found in the latinized form Gamelo). The p. n. is of Scand. origin; see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 45 f. The termination was OE $d\bar{u}n$. For the inorganic b in the Br. Mus. form see Horn § 158, 2.

Gore NW of Tilshead.

1086 Gare DB; Edw. I Gares Rot. H; 1369 La Gore Cal. Inq.

OE $g\bar{a}r$. This name refers to one of those ridges of the downs which extend in parallel lines here and have much the same shape as spears.

Grafton, East and West near Burbage.

1086 Graftone DB; in Grastone (three times) ib.; 1130 Graftona H. Pipe R; 1222 Graftun R. L. Cl.; 1225 Grafton Pat. R; 1230—40 de Graftone Macray; 1308 Westgraftone C. Inq.; 1324 Grafton FA.

¹ The OE (poetical) adj. gamel, gamol can naturally not come into consideration here (cf. Aldbourne).

Either from OE * $gr\bar{a}f$ - $t\bar{u}n$ ($gr\bar{a}f$ = grove) or from *graef- $t\bar{u}n$ (graef = grave, trench), the latter alternative being, however, not quite so probable on account of the rocky nature of the soil. The common orthographic confusion between f and s is due to the similarity of these letters.

Greenhill near Wootton Bassett.

1408 Grenehull Cal. Inq.

No comments necessary.

Grims Ditch ancient earthwork near Salisbury.

956 grimes die CS nos. 934, 985; 1045 Grimes die CD no. 778; 1387 de Grymesdiche Cal. Inq.

Grim is a p. n. of Scand. origin; see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 50. Cf. Grims Dyke, Oxfs. (also called 'Devil's Dyke'), which has obviously the same origin (Dyke representing the OE dat. form); see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 117¹.

Grimstead, East and West SE of Salisbury.

1086 Gremestede DB; Gramestede (twice) ib. [prob. identical]; 1160 Grenested Pipe R; 1162 Gremesteda ib.; 1167 Grenesteda ib.; 1200 Grimestude R. Oblat.; 1227 Grymsted Macray; 1243 Grimisted, de Grimstede ib.; 1245 de Grymstede ib.; 1258 de Grimmested R. fin. exc.; 1269 Estgremsted C. Inq.; 1281 Est Grymstede ib.; 1287 Grimsted, Grymesteden, Westgrymsteden, Estgrymstede ib.; 13th cent. de Grenestede, Grimstede, Grimestede Liber rub.; 1314 Istgrimstede C. Inq.; 1402 de Westgrymstede FA.

The suggestion that Grims Ditch (Dyke) might contain OE grīma ('spectre'), the name consequently being equivalent to 'witches' work' (see Guest. p. 149, and Alexander, loc. cit.), seems most improbable. The alternative 'Devil's' (Dyke), which has suggested this explanation, may be due simply to old traditions about the origin of the earthwork in question. The explanation of the element Grim- offered by Guest, p. 150 f., seems too improbable to be discussed.

Originally *Grimes stede [OE stede = place]. For Grim see preceding name. Gren- (Grin-) for Grim- in some of the ME forms must be a pure mistake, perhaps due to association with the two Grinsteads in Sussex, for which see Roberts, Pl. Ns of Sussex, p. 74. For e as representing OE i in DB see Stolze § 9. a in Gramstede DB and the final -n in two of the C. Inq. forms are clearly errors.

Grittenham W of Wootton Bassett.

850 †ad Grutcham[es suth hele] CS no. 458 [prob. identical] ¹; 1065 †Grutenham CD no. 817; c. 1290 Gretenham T. Eccl.; [n. d.] Grutenham, Grutcham, Grucenham Reg. Malm.

The origin of this name is not clear. If, however, the first element represents a p. n., this was probably the same as is contained in Grittleton; see below. The termination seems to have been OE $h\bar{a}m$.

Grittleton NW of Chippenham.

940 †at Grutelingtone CS no. 750; 1086 Gretelintone DB; 1216 Gretelinton R. L. Cl.; Hen. III Greteling(e)ton Abbr. Plac.; 1324 Gritelyngton FA; 1330 Gritelyngton Ch. R; 1337 Gruttelyngton Phillipps' fines; 1338 Grutelyngton Cl. R; Edw. III Grutlyngton NI; 1428 Gretelyngton, Grythyngton FA.

The first element obviously contains the patronymic of a diminutive p. n. No suitable p. n. is, however, on record; [the Scand. $Gyr\delta$ (for which see Björkman, Pers. I) can hardly come into consideration, as the old forms of the pl. n. have in every case r followed by the vowel]. We may therefore be allowed to construct a p. n. *Grut(a) or *Gryt(a), which may be concealed in this pl. n. Grittleton may thus be derived from * $Grytelinga\ t\bar{u}n$. Cf. † $(on)\ Gretindune$ CD no. 730, which seems to contain the same p. n. On the ME forms with e for i (y) in the first syllable see under Biddestone.

 $^{^{1}}$ The corresponding charter in CD has ${\it Grete-}$ instead of ${\it Grute-}$.

Groundwell N of Swindon.

1086 Grendewelle DB; early 14th cent. Grundewell, Grundewelle TN; 1329 Grundeswell C. Inq.; 1428 Grundewell FA.

The termination is WS wiell(e), wyll(e). For the first element, it is, no doubt, the same as that which occurs in (on) grinde wylles lace CS no. 1093, grindan broc ib. no. 544, and †grynden brok ib. no. 1187 (the two latter representing one and the same brook in Hants.). The most probable explanation of the element in question is to assume, with Middendorff p. 61, an OE *grinde f. (or *grinda m.?) = 'gravel'. 'shingle', cognate with grindan, on the ground of Frisian grind, grint (Middle Fris. grinde, grint). The development into mod. Ground- is to be explained as due to popular etymology, caused by the AN spelling Grund- (u representing an older y). Cf. Roundway, below, the development of which seems to be quite analogous. For the e in the DB form see Stolze, p. 17.

Groveley (Wood) NW of Wilton.

940 †grafan lea CS no. 757; 1086 (foresta de) Gravelinges DB; 1160 Graueling Pipe R; 1161 Grauel ib.; 1167 Grauelea ib.; 1178? Graueling Br. Mus.; 1199 Graveling Rot. Ch.; 1222 Graveling Pat. R; 1229 Gravening Cl. R; 1270 Graveling Ch. R; 1280 Gravelinges C. Inq.; 1282 Gravelingges ib.; 1283 Groveley ib.; 1288 Gravele ib.; 1289 Gravelinge ib.; 13th cent. de Graveninge Liber rub.; 1316 Grovle Cl. R; 1319 Graveley C. Inq.; 1341 Grovle Cal. Inq.; 1402 Grovelegh FA.

The CS form above does not allow us to assume OE $gr\bar{a}f$ (= 'grove') as the first element of the original name. But the name is easily accounted for, if we assume an original * $gr\bar{a}fan$ $l\bar{e}ah$ (*at $gr\bar{a}fan$ $l\bar{e}aze$), the first element

¹ related by gradation to Scand. and German. *grand* (of the same meaning).

being the gen. sing. of OE * $gr\bar{a}fa$ (or * $gr\bar{a}fe$ f.?) = 'brushwood' (only recorded in oblique cases). This word, which is cognate with OE graf (NE 'grove'), exists at the present day as greave in the dialects; see NED, EDD, and Crawf. Ch. p. 61 f. The OE form assumed could certainly not have given Groveley by regular development, but what is more natural than a confusion in ME of the genuine first element and grāf, which had much the same meaning? grafan in the CS form is therefore to be considered as a ME falsification of the OE form. Pl. ns which seem to contain the same first element are Graveney, Kent, occurring as †Grafan æa (†Grafon æa) in several OE charters, and Gravenhurst, Beds., found as Gravenhurst Liber rub., Gravenhurste Cal. Inq. (this explanation of the latter name being more likely than the one given by Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds. p. 33).

The form *Graveling(es)*, which in the ME period seems to have been in frequent use beside the genuine name, must be due to the influence of *Gravelines*, the French (Flemish) seaport on the Channel (occurring in 1229 as *Graveling* Cl. R, 1241 *Graveninges*, *Graveling*' ib.). For the transition of *-ling > -ning* see Zachrisson, p. 140.

Hacklestone SSE of Enford.

1286 Acleston Cl. R; 1367 Hackelston Cal. Inq.; 1403 Hakleston Phillipps' fines; 1490 Hacleston C. Inq.

Originally *Hacceles (Hæcceles?) $t\bar{u}n$, or perhaps *Acceles $t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a diminutive formation of the p. n. Hacca, or Acca. The alternative *Acceles $t\bar{u}n$ has been suggested for two reasons: 1) the fact that initial h is a rather unstable sound in the dialect of this district, 2) the adjoining Haxton (see below), which may have influenced the present name.

Ham S of Hungerford (Berks.).

931 æt Hamme, †of Hame CS nos. 677, 678; 1086 Hame

DB; 1284, 1300 Hamme Ch. R; 1316, 1428 de Hamme FA.

OE ham(m) (= 'enclosed meadow'); see under Bremilham.

Hamptworth ESE of Downton.

1269 Hampteworthe C. Inq.; 1281 Hampteworth ib.; 1428 Hampteworth FA.

Probably from * $\hbar \bar{a}m$ -weor \bar{p} , which may have meant much the same as $\hbar \bar{a}m$ -stede, $\hbar \bar{a}m$ -t $\bar{u}n$, viz. 'homestead'. An original *at ($\bar{p}\bar{e}m$) $\hbar \bar{e}an$ weor δe is excluded in the present case because of the low situation of the place. Cf. Bathampton. The intrusive -pt- must be due to the influence of the common Hampton.

Hanging Langford NW of Wilton.

1337 Honyngelangeford Rot. Orig.; 1428 Hangyng Langeford FA; c. 1540 Hanging Langforde Leland.

The distinctive 'Hanging' refers to the situation of the place on a steep hill-side (below Grovely Wood); cf. *Hangindebluntesdon* TN (see Blunsdon). One of the *Langefords* in DB may also refer to this place, according to Jones that on fol. 68 d.

For further information see Steeple Langford.

Hankerton NE of Malmesbury.

680 †de Hanekyntone CS no. 59 A; 901 †Hanekyntone (†Hanecintun) ib. no. 589; 1065 †Honekynton CD no. 817; 1222 Hanekinton Macray; c. 1290 Hanekenton T. Ecel.; Edw. III de Hanekyngtone NI; 1367 Hankynton Cl. R; 1428 Hanketon FA; 1491 Hankerton C. Inq.; 1540 Hankenton Dugdale.

Originally *Hanecan (Hanecinga?) tūn, *Haneca being a diminutive of Hana, a p. n. which occurs on a coin of King Eadmund I, and also in the local hanan welle CS no. 588. The present diminutive is on record in Hanecan hamme CS nos. 821, 822, and another dim. form of the

same name is Honoc in LVD; see Müller, p. 73. The late change of n > r seems to be due to dissimilation with the n of the first syllable.

Hannington WNW of Highworth.

1086 Hanindone DB; 1226 Hanendon Pat. R; 1273, 1282, 1290 Hanedon C. Inq.; 1316 Hanyngdon FA; 1324, 1428 Hanyndon ib.; 1428 Est Hanynton ib.

From *Haninga $d\bar{u}n$; (the place is situated on a down). For Hana see preceding name.

Hardenhuish [locally called 'Harnish'] NW of Chippenham. 1086 Hardenehus DB; 1177 Hardehiwis Pipe R; 1257 Herdenehywys C. Inq.; 1290 of Hardene Hywich ib.; 1301 Hardenhiwish Ch. R; 1310 Hardenhiwisch C. Inq.; 1316 de Hardnyshe FA; 1428 in Harden Hywysshe ib.; 1490 Hardenhysh C. Inq.

Originally *Heardan (or possibly *Heardinga) hīwisc, *Hearda being a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with Heard. OE hīwisc is cognate with hīd (hīzid) and was used as a synonym of this word; see Fifield.

Note. Birch's identification of †heregeardinge hiwise CS no. 469 with Hardenhuish, Wilts., cannot possibly be correct, for apart from the fact that there is nothing in the charter indicating this identity, it is to be noticed that even the oldest of the ME forms have a in the first syllable.

Harnham, East and West adjoining Salisbury.

C 1115 Harnham Osmund; Hen. III Estharnham Br. Mus.; 1272 Harham, Est Harnham, West H. C. Inq.; Harham Fine R.; 1273 Harham C. Inq.; 1277 Westharham Fine R.; c. 1290 Harenh'm T. Eccl.; 1300 Westharnam Pat. R; 1316 West Harneham FA.

This name may represent an original * $H\bar{a}ran\ h\bar{a}m$ as well as * $at\ (p\bar{a}m)\ h\bar{a}ran\ h\bar{a}me$; OE $h\bar{a}r\ (h\bar{a}ra)$ certainly occurs in a number of OE pl. ns (as appears from Kemble's

index); it seems, however, as though some of these pl. ns, on account of their second element, more probably contained a p. n. *Hara, used as a nick-name (= 'the grey one'); such names are e. g. haran dene CD no. 133 and haran lea ib. no. 507.

Hartham NW of Corsham.

1086 Heortham (three times), Hertham (three times) DB (all these manors were probably at Hartham); 1181 Hertham Pipe R; 1272 Hertham C. Inq.; Edw. I Hartham Br. Mus.; 1316, 1428 Hertham FA; 1486 Hertham C. Inq.

From *heor(o)t(a) $h\check{a}m$; OE heor(o)t = `hart', 'stag'.

Hatch S of Hindon.

1199 de Hache Rot. Cur.; 1282 in Hacche Ch. R; 1287 de Hachche C. Inq.; 1316 de Hacche FA; 1325 Weshacch C. Inq.; 1331 Westhach Phillipps' fines; 1378—84 E. Hatch Br. Mus.

This name answers to OE hac(c) = 'hatch', 'gate', 'wicket'.

Haxton (Down) W of Ludgershall.

1172 Hakenestan Pipe R; 1212 de Hakenestoñ R. L. Cl.; 1239 Hakeneston Ch. R; 13th cent. Hacnestone Liber rub.; 1330 Hakenestone C. Inq.; 1365 Hakenestone Br. Mus.; 1454 Hakyston Cat. A. D. (prob. identical).

The first element contains the Scand. p. n. Hacun, Hacon, for which see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 60. The termination was probably OE $t\bar{u}n$.

Haydon NW of Swindon.

c. 1290 de Heydone T. Eccl.; 1379 Haidon Br. Mus.; 1428 in Haydone FA.

Undoubtedly from OE *seo $h\bar{e}aze$ $d\bar{u}n$ (the high down). As to $h\bar{e}aze$ for $h\bar{e}a$ see Sievers § 295, note I. Cf. Heywood and Highway, below.

Note. In this connection attention may be drawn to two Lancs. pl. ns: Healey and Heywood, which seem unsatisfactorily accounted for by Wyld. The former of these names seems to be a regular development from an orig. * αt ($\hbar \bar{\alpha} m$, $\hbar \bar{\alpha} re$) $\hbar \bar{e} a \eta t \bar{e} a \xi e$, in which case its ME forms beginning with Hay-(quoted in Wyld) are easily explained from $\hbar \bar{e} a \xi a \eta n$. used as a variant of $\hbar \bar{e} a \eta n$ in the original name. As for Heywood, it is certainly derived from OE *se $\hbar \bar{e} a \xi a \eta u u d u$.

Haydon Wick near Haydon.

1299 Haydonwyk Cal. Inq.; 1394 in Haydone wyke Br. Mus.; 1428 in Haydoneswyke FA.

The original name of this place must have been simply $*w\bar{\imath}c$, *xt ($p\bar{\alpha}m$) $w\bar{\imath}ce$, for which see Berwick B. The distinctive name refers to the neighbouring Haydon. Cf. Bremhill Wick, Farleigh Wick.

Hazelbury N of Bradford(-on-Avon).

1001 †at Heselberi CD no. 706; 1086 (de) Haseberie DB (four times, all probably referring to Hazelbury); early 14th cent. in Heselb'e TN; 1316 Haselbury FA; 1324 Hasselbury ib.

Originally *et [$p\bar{e}re$] hesel-byriz. Medial l in pl. ns is occasionally omitted in DB; see Stolze § 30.

Hazeldon near Tisbury.

Edw. I in Haselden' Rot. H; 1378—84 Hazeldon Br. Mus.; 1428 Haselden FA; 1493 Hasilden C. Inq.

Originally *hæsel- $d\bar{u}n$ (the place being situated on the slope of a down).

Heddington N of Devizes.

1086 Edintone DB; 1237 Hedlintun Ch. R (corrupt); 1316 Hedington FA; 1320 Hedynton Pat. R; 1428 Hedyndon, Edyngton FA.

Most probably from * $H\bar{e}dinga\ t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a patronymic of * $H\bar{o}d$, or * $H\bar{o}da$. This p. n., which is 7 E. Ekblom

found in several OE local names, e. g. *Hodes ac* CS no. 1282, *hodan hlæw* ib. 899, *of hodes hlæwe* ib. 687, *hodes mære* ib. 1199, *hodan mére* CD no. 767, is probably the same as occurs in the mythological [*Robin*] *Hood*¹. Cf. Hodson, below. For the omission of h see under Avon.

Hewish see Huish.

Heytesbury SE of Warminster.

1086 Hestrebe DB (the termination corrupt); 1109—17 Hehtredeberia Macray; c. 1115 Hegtredebiri Osmund; 1158 Hectredebiri ib.; 1159 hehtrebia Pipe R; 1165—70 de Hegtredeberie Osmund; 1179 Hietredeberia Pipe R; 1183 Hichtredesberi, Heichtredeberi ib.; 1194 Hegtretesbur, de Hettredebrie, Hectretesbri Rot. Cur.; c. 1200 de Hechtredeburie Osmund; King John Hecdredbere Br. Mus.; 1214 Hecthredebir Rot. Ch.; 1226 Hechgtridebirye Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1227 Heitrebir Cl. R.; 1269 Hegtredeburi C. Inq.; c. 1290 Heghtredebury T. Eccl.; 1324 Hezestrebur(y), Hegstredebur(y) FA; 1328 Westheghtre(de)bury, Istheghtredebury C. Inq.; 1329 Hextredbury R. Pat.; 1383 Heyghtredbury ib.; 1384 Heitredbury Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1402 Heyghtresbury FA; 1428 Heghtre(de)sbury ib.; 1533 Heightredesbury, Heytysbury Br. Mus.; c. 1540 Heitredesbury Leland.

The first element can hardly contain anything but the Scand. p. n. * $Estri\delta$ (occurring in DB as Estred, in Exon DB as Estrit; see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 38). In connection with the discussion of Brigmerston, attention has been drawn to the fact that the combination st may sometimes be an AN rendering of OE ht. In the light of this, the development of the present name is easily explained as due to an early substitution of the genuine st in the first element by ht (ght), by which the first syllable must have coincided with the ME adj. hegh (heg). The few ME forms

¹ In some OE pl. ns *Hod (*Hoda) may actually refer to this mythological person himself, as is assumed by Bradley (Academy, Sept. 15, 1883) and Binz, p. 222, foot-note.

which reflect the original first syllable are, as is seen, those of DB ¹ and FA (A. D. 1324).

The termination answers to OE byriz.

Heywood N of Westbury.

1224 Heiwode Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1460 Heywode Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1496 Hewode C. Inq.

From an OE *se hēaza wudu. Cf. Haydon. e for ei in Hewode may be an AN spelling; see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 16.

Highway NE of Calne.

1086 Hiwi (prob. identical), Hiwei DB; 1214 Iweia R. Oblat. (latinized); 1219 Hywey, de Yweye Macray; 1220 Hiweia ib.; 1232 Hyweie Ch. R; Edw. I in Heywaye, Hywey Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Hyweye FA.

Originally *se hēa wez, or rather *æt (þēm) hēan weze. Unlike Haydon and Heywood, the first element has in this case been influenced by the independent adj.

Highworth

1086 de Wrde DB; 1091 Wortha Osmund; 1158 Wrda ib.; 1194 de Wurpe Rot. Cur.; 1231 Hegworth Cl. R; Hauteworth Pat. R; 1257 Alta Whorth Ch. R; 1262 W(o)rthe C. Inq.; 1276 Worth Br. Mus.; 1289 Hautewrth Pat. R; 1316 de Heyworthe FA; 1352 Heygheworth Phillipps' fines; 1428 Hyworth FA.

The original name was obviously simply *weorp (worp, wurp, wyrp), for which see Atworth. For d in Wrde, Wrda see Zachrisson, p. 115 f. In two of the ME forms the first element has been replaced by the corresponding French adj. haut.

¹ The initial h is here quite unimportant, h in this position being a most unstable element in the DB forms; see Stolze § 48.

Hilcott WSW of Pewsey.

1194 in Hulcote Rot. Cur. (prob. identical); 1316, 1428 de Hulcote FA.

OE *hyll-cot(e), the meaning of which is clear.

Hill Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 Devrel DB* [see the foot-note under Brixton D.]; 1130—35 Hull Osmund; 1206 Deverhill R. L. Cl.; 1220 Hull Osmund; 1316 de Hulle FA; 1324 Hulledeverel ib.; c. 1330 in Hulle Deuerel Br. Mus.; 1428 Hull FA.

OE hyll. For the distinctive Deverill see Brixton D.

Hilmarton NNE of Calne.

1086 Adhelmertone (identical according to Jones), Helmerintone, in Helmertune DB; c. 1290 Helmerton T. Eccl.; 1300 Helmerton Ch. R.; 1428 Helmerton FA; 1576 Hilmerton Br. Mus.

From *Helmæres [or possibly *Helmæringa] $t\bar{u}n$; *Helmær (< *Helm-mære) is not recorded in OE, but occurs in DB as Helmerus [Ellis, Intr. II, p. 335]. If Jones is correct in his identification of Adhelmertone [DB 71 d.], which it has been impossible for me to settle, the initial Ad- must naturally be the Lat. preposition, which has been taken as belonging to the name. For the raising of e > i in ME see Morsbach § 109.

Hilperton NE of Trowbridge.

1086 Helprintone, in Helperitune, in Helperintone DB; 1205 de Helpringetoù R. Oblat.; 1285 Hulprington Cal. Inq.; 1288 Hilprynton Dugdale; c. 1290 de Hulpryggtone T. Eccl.; 1316 de Hulpryntone FA; 1405 Hulpryngton Br. Mus.; 1415 Hylprington Cal. Inq.; 1423 Hulperton ib.; 1428 Hulpurton, Hulprynggton FA.

The original first element is made up of the patronymic of a p. n. beginning with Help- and with a second member beginning with r. Helpric is the only p. n. of this kind

which is on record in OE, but the compound *Helpred may also have existed (cf. the Continental Hilprad, Helfrat; see Förstemann, Pers.). Hilperton is therefore to be derived from *Helpricinga (or *Helpredinga) tūn, the development being exactly analogous to that of Alderton (NW of Grittleton) and Cholderton (see above).

The *u*-vowel of the first syllable in some of the ME forms stands for a secondary $y \ (< i)$. [For the change of c > i see Morsbach § 109.]

Hindon NE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1284 Hyneton, Hynedon Ch. R; Edw. I in Hynedon Rot. H; 1332 Hynedon Ch. R; 1401 Hyndon Br. Mus.; 1402 Hyndon. FA.

The etymology of this name is not quite clear. The first element seems, however, to be the same as in *Hinton*, Suffolk (DB *Hinetuna*), which name is derived by Skeat from OE * $\hbar ina$ $t\bar{u}n$, $\hbar ina$ ($\hbar i z na$) being the gen. of $\hbar invan$ ($\hbar i z an$), a plur. subst. = 'members of a family or household', 'domestics' (cognate with $\hbar i z id$, $\hbar id$).

The original termination was in that case probably $t\bar{n}n$, as $d\bar{u}n$ would hardly give a likely meaning.

Hinton, Great ENE of Trowbridge.

1316 Henton FA; 1485 Henton C. Inq.; 1491 Henton Br. Mus.

This name is certainly of the same origin as (Broad) Hinton. It is a small village situated on the edge of a plateau.

Hinton, Little E of Swindon.

854 †Hynyton, †Hyneton, †Hynetune CS nos. 477, 478; Hen. III de Hyneton' Rot. H; 1285 Hyneton Ch. R [prob. identical]; c. 1290 Hyneton T. Eccl.; 1300 Hyneton Ch. R; 1316 de Hynetone FA; 1428 Hyneton ib.

Probably from *hina tūn; see Hindon, above.

Hippenscombe NE of Ludgershall.

1231 Heppingeumb' Cl. R; 1258 Huppingescumbe C. Inq.; 1291 Hippingescumbe Cl. R; 1332 Huppyngescoumbe C. Inq.; 1371 Ippingescombe Cal. Inq.; 1411 Huppingcombe R. Pat.

Originally *Hippinges cumb, Hipping being the patronymic of Heppo (*Heppa?), recorded in DB [Ellis, Intr. I, p. 433], which Forssner, p. 147, takes to be a Continental-Germanic name. The e-vowel in the 1231 form may be due to the influence of the independent p. n. The u in the first syllable of some forms stand for y.

Hodson SSE of Swindon.

1222 Hodeston Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1312 Hodeston Cal. inq. da.; 1314 Hodeston Pat. R; 1482 Hoddesdon Cal. Inq.; 1495 Hodeston C. Inq.

Originally * $H\bar{o}des$ ($H\bar{o}dan$?) $t\bar{u}n$. For * $H\bar{o}d(a)$ see under Heddington. The loss of t is due to weakened stress; cf. Rabson, below, Benson, Chilson, Oxfs. [see Alexander, pp. 51, 75], Winson, Glos. [see Baddeley, p. 165].

Holt N of Trowbridge.

1252 Holt Ch. R; 1316 de Holte FA. OE holt = 'wood', 'copse'.

Homington SW of Salisbury.

956 †humming tūn CS no. 962 [prob. identical]; 1086 Humitone DB; 1130 Humintona H. Pipe R; 1167 Huminton Pipe R; c. 1194 Huminton, Humiton Macray; 1199 Humiton Feet of fines; 1206 de Huminton R. L. Pat.; 1284 Homynton Pat. R; c. 1290 de Hometone T. Eccl.; Edw. I in Humeton' Rot. H; 1316 Homynton FA.

Originally *Huminga $t\bar{u}n$, the patronymic being formed from *Huma, no doubt a pet-formation of the OE p. ns (*)Humbeald or Humbcorht (< Hun- by assimilation of n to

b; for this element see Müller, p. 114). The occurrence of -i- for -ing- is discussed by Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V, p. 11.

Hook [huk] NNE of Wootton Bassett.
1310 le Hoke Cat. A. D.; 1327 Le Houk C. Inq. From OE hōe, denoting 'corner', 'nook' 1.

Horningsham SW of Warminster.

1086 Horningesham, Horningham DB; 1150—60, 1224 Horningesham Osmund; 1237 Horningesham Cl. R; 1316 Horningesham FA.

Originally *Horninges $h\bar{a}m$ [or possibly ham(m)], Horning being a patronymic of the p. n. Horn.

Horton NE of Devizes.

1203 Horton Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1220 de Hortone Macray [prob. identical]; 1428 Horton FA.

This name probably represents an OE *hor(u)-tūn; OE *horu, gen. horwes, = 'dirt', 'mud' (not recorded in the nom. as an independent word). (For the vowel in the composition-joint see Bergsten, p. 33 f.) The village has a low situation on one of the head-waters of the East Avon. Cf. Horton [Kirkby], Kent, which occurs as †Horatun (for *Horutun) in CS no. 538.

Huish or Hewish [huif, juif] SW of Marlborough. 1086 Iwis DB; Hen. III Iwys C. Inq.; 1349 Hywyssh Cl. R; 1428 Huwyssh FA; 1494 Hwys Cat. A. D.

OE $h\bar{\imath}wisc$, for which see Harden Huish. For the unstability of initial h see under Avon.

¹ There is certainly no topographical evidence at the present day to support this meaning, but as the southern border of the ancient Braden forest extended to this region, it may have given rise to the name because of its shape at this point.

Hullavington [locally called 'Hullington'] SW of Malmesbury.

1086 Hunlavintone DB; 1170? Huntlavinton Osmund; 1194 Hundlauint Rot. Cur.; 1202 Hundlavington Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1290 Hundlavinton T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Undelavinton TN; 1328 Hunlavintona Ch. R; 1330—35 Hullavington Br. Mus.; 1428 Hundlavyngton FA; Queen Elizabeth Hullavington, alias Hullouton Cat. A. D.

Originally * $Hunl\bar{a}finga\ t\bar{u}n$, $Hunl\bar{a}f$ being a common OE p. n. In ME, assimilation of n and l has taken place. For the inorganic d (t) between n and l cf. Horn § 185. Hullouton (Cat. A. D.) seems to be a corrupt rendering of the contracted form.

Hurdcott W of Wilton.

1086 Hardicote DB [prob. identical]; 1175 de Herdicote Pipe R. [or possibly = Hurdcott NE of Salisbury]; 1269 Hurdecote C. Inq.: 1283 Herdecote Ch. R; 1288 Hurdecotte C. Inq.; 1315 Herdecote Ch. R; 1316 de Herdecote FA; 1402, 1428 in Hurdecote FA.

Either from *heord-cot(e) or from *heorda cot(e); OE heord = 'flock', heorde (a variant of hierde)¹ = 'herdsman'. For ME u as a representative of OE eo see under Bemerton. The u in the mod. form, on the other hand, is, no doubt, of another kind, being due to the levelling of ur and er in pronunciation. The u-vowel in the DB form must be an error, occasioned by the fact that u and u before u often occurred promiseuously in DB, viz. when representing OE u before u before

Hurdcott NE of Salisbury.

1086 in Herdicote DB; 1324 Hurdecote Pat. R. See preceding name.

¹ heorde (for hierde) may naturally be due to the influence of heord: but see also Bülbring § 186 Anm.

Hyde N of Swindon.

1495 Hyde C. Inq.

OE hid, for which see Fifield.

Idmiston SE of Amesbury.

947 † at Idemestone CS no. 829; 970 † Idemeston(e) ib. no. 1259 [both probably identical]; c. 1280 Ydemiston Osmund; c. 1290 Idemeston T. Eccl.; 1316 de Idemistone FA; 1330 Idemeston Ch. R; 1428 Id(e)meston FA.

Originally *Idhelmes tūn. A p. n. *Idhelm is certainly not on record, but, judging from the present pl. n., its existence seems indisputable. Another OE p. n. with Idas the first member was *Idhild (fem.) occurring in the local idhilde stan CS no. 1114. There also existed a male hypocoristic Ida. Contrary to what was apparently the case in OE, the element Id- (It-) is very common in OGerman p. ns, where it had a great capacity for composition (see Förstemann, Pers.). For its etymology see Forssner, p. 161. In the pl. n. under notice, the loss of l must have taken place at the same time as the syncope of the preceding e; (the occurrence of this e in the ME spellings does not imply its occurrence in the local pronunciation).

Imber on Salisbury Plain.

1086 Imemerie DB; 1146 Immemera Macray; 1164 Immema Pipe R; c. 1200 Ymmer, Himmemere Osmund; 1238 Ymmere Macray; c. 1290 Imere T. Eccl.; 1316 Immere FA; 1324 Ynmer ib.; 1330 Immere C. Inq.; 1428 I(n)mere FA.

Originally *Imman mære [OE mære, zemære = boundary, landmark]. The first element contains the male OE p. n. Imma, for which see Forssner, p. 69. For the insertion of b see Horn § 158. The termination in the DB form must be an error due to the influence of the common -berie.

Ingelburne [ingolborn] adjoining Malmesbury.

[late 7th cent.] † Ingelbourne(-castel) Eulogium; 956 † Ingelbourne (aqua), (Ingleburne) CS no. 921; [n. d.] (ad aquam de) Ingellbourne Reg. Malm.

This name denoted originally the more northerly of the two head-waters of the Lower Avon, which rises near Tetbury [see Akerman's map in Archæol. XXXVII]. The first element is difficult to identify. If it was a p. n., this was probably the native OE Inzeld, for which see Müller, pp. 100, 126. The Continental Ingel- (see Forssner, p. 70 f.) can, on the other hand, not possibly come into consideration here because of the early date at which the name occurs. The original form may consequently have been *Inzeldes burn(a) [burne]. In its position between l and b, the old gen. s was not likely to be retained very long. Cf. Inglesham, below.

Inglesham $[iyg\partial ls(h)\partial m]$ N of Highworth.

1177 Ynglesham Pipe R; 1202 Inglesham R. L. Pat.; 1225 Englesham Pat. R; 1240 Inglesham, Inglisham Macray; 1262, 1273, 1282 Inglesham C. Inq.; c. 1290 Inglesham T. Eccl.; 1428 Inglesham FA; 1542 Englesham Cat. A. D.

From *Inzeldes (or possibly *Ingelan) hăm, *Ingela being a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with Ingel-(see Forssner, p. 70 f.). For Inzeld see preceding name.

Ivychurch SE of Salisbury.

1109—20 Monasterium Hederosum Osmund; 1155—60 de Monasterio Oderoso [mistake for Ederoso] ib.; 1214 Monasterii Hederosi (gen.) Macray; 1242 Ivichurch, Ivechirch Pat. R; 1246 Ivychurch Ch. R; 1249 Ivychurch C. Inq.; 1492 Ive Church, Ivy-church ib.

The meaning is obvious.

Keevil E of Trowbridge.

1086 Chivele DB; 1205 Kivelia Rot. Ch.; c. 1210 de Chivele Macray; 1217 de Kivele Pat. R; 1239 Kyvelegh Cl. R; 1272

Cufty C. Inq.; 1275 Cyvel Pat. R; 1283 of Kivele, Kyveleygh. C. Inq.; 1316 de Kyvele FA; 1318 of Keyvele Pat. R; 1326 Cuvele C. Inq.; 1337 Kyveleye Phillipps' fines; 1362 Keivele Cal. Inq.; 1402 de Kywele FA; 1556 Kevill Br. Mus.

This name can hardly be Germanic. The terminations -legh, -leye, -ly in some of the ME forms are certainly only orthographic, for there seem to be no cases of OE -leah (-leage) in pl. ns having been weakened simply to l in the mod. form.

Kellaways NE of Chippenham.

1226 Cailleway Phillipps' ped. fin.; (n. d.) de Kayleweye Reg. Malm.

This is certainly a Celtic name: see Call(a)way, Calloway, Bardsley.

Kennett, East and West on the r. Kennet. W of Marlborough.

939 on cynetan, (juxta Ripam) Kinete US no. 734; 944 on Cynetan ib. no. 802; 956 on Cynetan ib. no. 942; 972 Cynetan ib. no. 1285; 984 Cynete, on Cynetan CD no. 1282; [1006] at Cynetan AS Chr. [E], at Cynestan [D]; 1050 Cynete, on Cynetan CD no. 792; 1086 (in) Chenete (three times) DB; 1214 in Kenet Rot. Ch.; c. 1290 de Kenete T. Eccl.; 1300 Eskenet Cl. R; Edw. III Kynete, de Estkenete NI; 1380 Eskenet Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Est Kenete FA.

All the forms previous to Domesday refer to the River Kennet (the forms from CS nos. 802, 942, CD nos. 792, 1282, and that of the AS Chr. having reference to the Berks. part of the river). Kennet(t) is a pre-Germanic name, certainly identical with *Cunetio (Cunetione), mentioned in Antoninus' Itinerary, which place has been located in the vicinity of Marlborough. Kintbury, Berks., takes its name from the same river. Note also Kennet, Cambs., and Kentford, Suffolk, for which see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs.,

p. 71, and Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 33. Kennet occurs also in Scotch pl. ns.

Kingston Deverill NE of Mere.

1086 Devrel DB¹; 1205 in Kingesdeverell R. L. Cl.; 1240 Wrelquinsten Ch. R (corrupt); c. 1290 de Kyngestone T. Eccl.; 1318 Kyngeston Deverel C. Inq.; 1428 Kyngeston FA.

Kingston answers to OE *cyninges tūn. For Deverill see Brixton D.

Kington Langley N of Chippenham.

1086 Langhelei DB [prob. identical].

Originally *at pām (pāre) langan lēaze. The distinctive name refers to the adjoining Kington St. Michael.

Kington St. Michael NNW of Chippenham.

1174—91 Chinetuna Br. Mus.; 1242 Kington Ch. R: 1280 Kyngton, Kingtone ib.; e. 1290 Kington Michis T. Eccl.; Edw. I in Kynton' Mich'is Plac. Warr.; 1320 Munchene-kyngton Cl. R; 1428 Kyngton (Michaelis) FA.

The complete absence of any trace of a gen. -s in the present name indicates an original *cyne-tūn rather than *cyninges tūn; OE cyne (= royal) being an element only used in compounds. Cf. Kingston, West, below. Munchene- in the Cl. R. form (< OE mynecenu = 'a nun') refers to an ancient Benedictine nunnery here (see Heath, p. 172). Cf. Monken-deverel (= Monkton Deverill) Monken Farleigh (= Monkton Farleigh), below, and also Minchen lane, M. meadow etc., quoted in NED (under 'minchen').

'St. Michael' refers to the church.

Note. Birch's identification of †Kingtone CS no. 704 with this place seems to be a mere conjecture, for nothing indicates even that it was situated in Wilts.

¹ See the foot-note under Brixton D.

Kington, West NW of Corsham.

1086 Chintone DB [or possibly = Kington St. Michael]; 1175 Chingtona Macray; 1233 in Westkington R. fin. exc.; 1235 1240 Westkinton Ch. R.; 1243 West Kyngton C. Inq.; Edw. I de Wes(t)kinton' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 Westkinton T. Eccl.; 1316 West Kyn(g)ton FA; 1317 Westkynton Pat. R; 1322 Westkynkton C. Inq.: 1324 Kynton FA; 1468 Westkynington Cal. Inq.

In all probability from *cyne-tūn; see Kington St. Michael.

Knighton near Broad Chalk.

1200 Knichteton Phillipps' ped. fin.; 13th cent. Knyghtteton Cat. A. D.; 1314 Knyghteton C. Inq.; 1418 Knyghteston Cat. A. D.: 1428 Knyghteton FA.

This name corresponds to an OE *cneohta [cni(e)hta] tūn.

Knook [nuk] near Heytesbury.

1086 Cunuche (twice) DB; 1226 Cnuch Osmund; 1249 Knuch Br. Mus.; Hen. III Knuk C. Inq.; 1314 Cnouk ib.; 1316 Knouk FA; 1327 Knouke C. Inq.; 1402 Knowke Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Knoke FA.

This name is of Celtic origin; see Conock. The lengthened vowel is certainly due to the analogy of *hook*, *nook*.

Knoyle, East or Bishop's Knoyle SW of Hindon. West or Little Knoyle W of Hindon.

948, 956 Cnugel CS nos. 870, 956 [possibly identical]; 984 cnugel CD no. 641 (prob. ident.); 1086 Chenvel (twice) DB (corrupt); 1227 Stepelknoel Cl. R [= Knoyle, East]: 1284 Knoel Ch. R; c. 1290 Cnoel Magna [= K., East], Cnoel hodierne [= K., West] T. Eccl.; 1299 Cnowell Cal. Inq.; 1316 Knowell FA; 1331 Knowell Magna Pat. R; 1402 Cnoel Episcopi ib.; 1428 Knoyel, Cnoel Magna, Knoel Parva, Cnoel Hodiern (Hodyerne) ib.; 1458 Knoyll Episcopi Cal. Inq.; 1491 Est Knoell C. Inq.; 1493 in Weste Knoyle ib.

This is undoubtedly a pre-English name, and therefore its explanation must be left to Celtic scholars. One may mention, however, that the g in Cnugel (CS and CD), if the identification is correct, must have represented a palatal fricative [Cnugel consequently stands *Cnui(z)el]; cf. the Celtic p. n. Boia (Boiga), which also occurs as Boga (see Forssner, p. 51). The form Knowell must be merely orthographic, probably due to the fact that the scribe was unfamiliar with the non-Germanic combination oi (oy). Association with the subst. well may perhaps also have aided in causing the spelling in question.

For the distinctive names see Jones, p. 205.

Lackham S of Chippenham.

1086 Lacham DB; 1252 Lacham Br. Mus.; Edw. I Lackam ib.; 1300 Lakham Ch. R; 1430 Lackham Br. Mus.

Originally *lac(u)-hām¹; OE lacu f. = 'small stream', here referring to the little affluent of the Lower Avon at this place. As a dialectal word lake is still used in the sense of 'brook', 'stream' in several of the southern counties.

Lacock or Laycock [both pronounced leikŏk] S of Chippenham.

845 (†) Lacok CS no. 470; 1086 Lacoch, Lacoc DB; 1166 Lachocha (latinized) Pipe R; 1167 Lachoca ib.; c. 1210 Lacoq Br. Mus.; 1230 Lacok Osmund; 1239 Lacoc Macray; c. 1250? Lackoc ib.; 1260 Lacock Ch. R; 1316 de Lacocke FA.

This name is obviously quite the same as Laycock, Yorks., which, according to Goodall, consists of OE lacu + the diminutive suffix oc (uc) [consequently OE *lacoc], and there seems indeed to be no objection to this statement. Cf. hillock, which is a quite analogous formation. The present village is situated on a little tributary of the Lower Avon near the point where it joins this river.

For ay in the modern form cf. Braydon, above.

¹ For the vowel in the composition-joint see Bergsten, p. 34.

Lake SW of Amesbury.

1324 Lake Pat. R.

This name refers to the East Avon, on the upper portion of which the place is situated.

Landford ESE of Downton.

1086 Langeford DB 74 b, ib. 72 a?; Hen. III Laneford Rot. H; .c. 1290 Laneford, Langeford T. Eccl.; 1316 Laneford FA; 1327 Laneford Phillipps' fines; 1428 Laneford FA.

Originally *se langa ford. On account of the AN rendering of ng by n, the sense of the first element must have been forgotten, and it was later confused with land, which has persisted in the mod. name. It is interesting to notice Langford, Notts., which has developed in quite the opposite way (from land->lang-); see Mutschmann, p. 80.

Note. Stevenson's suggestion, p. 319 f., that Leonaford mentioned in Asser's Life of King Alfred, may be identical with Landford, Wilts. is obviously quite impossible for philological reasons.

Langford, Little NW of Wilton.

c. 1290 Langeforde $\tilde{p}va$ T. Eccl.; 1428 Parva Langeford FA. See Steeple Langford. The OE forms quoted under that name refer also to Langford, Little (as well as to Hanging Langford). One of the Langefords in DB probably also refers to this place, according to Jones the one mentioned on fol. 68 a.

Langley Burrell Within in the mun. bor. of Chippenham.

" Without adjoining the above.

940 †ad Langelegh', †de Langeleythe (corrupt) CS no. 751 [possibly identical]; 1086 Langefel DB [prob. identical]; c. 1290 de Longaleye T. Eccl. [or possibly ident. with Kington Langley]; 1258 Langele C. Inq.; 1316 Langele FA; 1333 Langle Burel Phillipps' fines; 1428 Langeley, Langle FA.

Originally *wt $p\bar{e}m$ ($p\bar{e}re$) langan $l\bar{e}aze$. The termination in the DB form represents the OE synonymous feld (for the loss of d see Stolze § 37; cf. Winkfield, below).

For the family name 'Burrell' (Borel) see Hildebrand, p. 331, and Bardsley. According to Jones, p. 221, the 'Burrells' held the manor from the time of Domesday till the early 14th cent.

Latton NNW of Cricklade.

1086 Latone DB; 1241 in Latton R. fin. exc.; Edw. I in Lacton' (three times) Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 de Lattone T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Latton FA.

Probably from OE *lac(u)- $t\bar{u}n$, lacu referring to 'the Churn', one of the head-waters of the Thames, which flows here by the side of the Thames and Severn Canal. Assimilation of k to t has consequently taken place.

Laverstock [lævə(r)stŏk] near Salisbury.

1086 Lavertestoche, Lavvrecestohes [corrupt] DB; 1221 Laverkestok Pat. R; 1227 de Laverstoke Macray; 1249 Laver(e)-kestok C. Inq.; 1303 Larkestok Cal. Inq.; 1311 in Laverkestoke Rot. Orig.; 1316 de Laverstoke FA; 1320 Lavirkestok Rot. Orig.; 1349 Laverestoke; 1402 in Larkestoke FA; 1428 in Laverkestoke ib.; 1492 Laverstok, at Laverstokke C. Inq.

Originally * $l\bar{a}ferc(e)$ -stoe [$l\bar{a}werc(e)$ -stoe]. The first element, which also occurs in a few other names [e. g. †(in) lauerke-boerge CS no. 125, †(on) laweore dune ib. no. 870, †(to) lauro-can beorge ib. 1005, lauercan beorh ib. no. 1238, (uppan) †lauerces byrig CD 1129] most probably represents the bird ('the lark'). The first of the DB forms is another example of orthographic confusion between c and t. For the termination see Bayerstock.

¹ The possibility that it was a p. n. is very slight; in that case it would probably have been of Scand. provenience (like Raf(e)n, Sualeua), but ONorse $l\bar{e}virki$ is not recorded as a p. n.

Note. Læfer CS no. 879 is stated by Birch to be the name of the river on which Laverstock is situated. This localization seems, however, to be erroneous. The stream that flows past Laverstock is 'the Boule', in OE times called Winter-burn(a); see Winterbourne (Dauntsey), below.

Lavington, Market or East L. S of Devizes.

1086 Laventone DB; 1254 Stepellavinton Pat. R; 1257 Stepellavinthon C. Inq.; 1271 Stupellaunton ib.; 1276 Stupelavinton ib.; c. 1290 de Stupellavyngtone T. Eccl.; 1301 Lauenton Br. Mus.; 1316 Stapul Lavynton FA; 1318 Stepel Lavynton Ch. R; 1324 Stupellavynton FA; 1402 Lavyngton, Stepillav(inton) ib.; 1428 Stupel Lavyngton ib.; 1496 Est Lavyngton C. Inq.

From *Lafinga (or *Lafan) tūn, Lafa being a p. n. recorded in LVD [see Müller, p. 57]. Of the distinctive Stepel (Stupel) and Stapul, the former is probably the correct form (referring to the church steeple). A confusion of this kind may have easily taken place, particularly as both elements are frequent in pl. ns. Cf. Stapleford, Steeple Ashton, S. Langford, below, and Steeple Aston, Oxfs. [see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.]. In the present case, the substitution of stapul for stepel may of course be due to the fact that the place was formerly a market town; [see Camden, p. 108].

Note. Alexander's explanation of stepel, steeple (in connection with his discussion of Steeple Aston, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 195) from the Mercian steapul [with u-umlaut] is a strange mistake.

Lavington, West or Bishop's L. SW of Lav. E.

1086 Laventone DB; 1091 Lavinton Osmund; c. 1136 Lavintona Macray; 1140—42 Lavinton Osmund; 1195 in Lauinton Feet of fines; 1232 in Lavinton' Episcopi Cl. R; 1238 de Lavinctune Macray; 1294 Lavynton Ch. R; 1316 Lavynton FA.

See preceding name. c for g in Lavinctune is a AN spelling [see Hildebrand, p. 360, § 18]. The distinctive name refers to its former tenant, the Bishop of Sarum.

S E. Ekblom

Lea SE of Malmesbury.

e. 1290 Legh T. Eccl. [or = Leigh Delamere]; 1346 la Lee Rot. Orig.

OE $l\bar{e}a(h)$ (= 'meadow').

Leigh near Westbury.

1316 de Lye FA; 1318 in Leye Ch. R; 1330 Lye C. Inq.; 1340 La Lee Ch. R.

The modern form is developed from the OE nom. *lēah*, Lye, Leye from the dat. *lēaze*.

Leigh Delamere NW of Chippenham.

1428 Lygh, Legh FA; 1488 Ligh C. Inq.

See above. 'Delamere' is an AN family name; ef. Fisherton Delamere.

Liddington SE of Swindon.

1086 Ledentone DB; 1204 de Lidinton R. Oblat.; c. 1290 Ludinton T. Eccl.; 1316 Ludynton FA; 1428 Ludyngton FA.

Probably from *Lydinga $t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a patronymic of the OE p. n. Lud(d)a; cf. Luddington, Warws. [see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws.], Luddenden, Yorks. [see Goodall], and Ludwell, below. For e as a representative of OE y in DB see Stolze § 15.

Littlecott NE of Hilmarton.

1086 Litlecote DB; 1232 Littlecot Ch. R; 1316 de Litlecote FA; Edw. III de Littellecote NI.

*seo lytle cote or *pæt lytle cot.

Littlecott near Enford.

1300 Littelecote Cal. Inq.; [n. d.] de Lyttlekote Cat. A. D. See above.

Littlecott NW of Hungerford (Berks.). 1428 in Lytelcote FA. See above.

__4

Littleton Drew or St. Andrew Littleton W of Grittleton. 1065 Litletun CD no. 817 [possibly identical]; 1086 Liteltone DB 66 b; c. 1290 Litleton T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Littelton TN; 1316 Litleton Drewe FA; 1324 Littelton Drew ib.; 1351 Lutlyngton Dru Phillipps' fines; 1428 Lyttelton Drew FA.

*se lytla tūn. The ing-suffix in one of the ME forms is due to analogy with pl. ns containing a patronymic as the first element; cf. Sherrington, below. For the AN 'Drew' (possibly referring to Walterus Drew, TN 142, 158) see Forssner, p. 60 f. 'St. Andrew' refers to the church.

Note. There seems no reason to locate Lytletun CD no. 654 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index.

Littleton Pannell S of Potterne.

1086 Liteltone DB 71 d [prob. identical]; 1239 de Litlintone Macray; 1316 Lutleton Paynel C. Inq.; 1318 Lytleton ib.; 1324 Lytleton Paynel ib.

See preceding name. 'Paynel' (Pannell) is an AN family name; see Bardsley.

Littleton NE of Trowbridge.

1470 Litilton Br. Mus.; see above.

Lockeridge WSW of Marlborough.

1086 Locherige DB; Edw. I Lokerrigge Rot. H; 1316 de Lokerugge FA.

The termination is obviously OE hrycz = 'ridge (of a down)'. The first element may have contained a (hypocoristic?) p. n. *Luca, found in the local lucan bearh CS no. 1066, probably also identical with the first member of Luceman (on a coin of the time of Æthelbearht), Lucumon (AS Chr.). A Continental Luca is also quoted in Searle; cf. Luckington, below.

Longbridge Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 Devrel DB¹; 1253 in Longo Ponte Deverell Pat. R; Hen. III Deverel Lungpunt Rot. H; 1267 Deverel Lungepunt Pat. R; 1316 Dever(ill) Langebrigge FA; 1330 Deverellangebrigge Ch. R; c. 1333 Deuerel Langebrigg Br. Mus.; 1428 Deverell Longepond FA.

For Deverill see Brixton D. Whether 'Longbridge' goes as far back as the OE period, it is impossible to say.

Longford SE of Salisbury.

956 æt Langanforda CS no. 934 [possibly identical]; 1086 Langeford DB 74 b; 1290 Langeford Ch. R; Edw. I Langeford Br. Mus.; 1316 Langeford FA; 1485 Langford (Cervyngton) C. Inq.

For the distinctive 'Cervyngton' see Heath, p. 188.

Longleat WSW of Warminster.

1235 la Langelete Macray; 1240—50 Longalete ib.; 1265—70 Longaleta ib.; late 13th cent. La Langhelete Br. Mus.; 1315 Langelete C. Inq.; 1333 Longleat ib.

This name refers to the long sub-affluent of the r. Frome which flows down here from the neighbourhood of Horningsham. leat corresponds to OE zelæt(e) n., which, besides the present meaning, has also the sense of 'junction' (e. g. weza zelæte). Whether 'Longleat' originated as far back as OE times, it is of course impossible to say.

Luckington NW of Grittleton.

1086 Lochintone (twice) DB; 1194 Luchinton Rot. Cur.; 1199 de Lokintoñ ib.; 1217 Lokintun Pat. R; c. 1290 Lokinton T. Eccl.; Edw. I in Lokinton' Plac. Warr.; 1316 de Lokyntone FA; 1382 Luckington Br. Mus.; 1458 Lokyngton ib.

Probably from *Lucinga $t\bar{u}n$, the first element being a patronymic of *Luca, for which see under Lockeridge.

¹ See the foot-note under Brixton D.

Ludgershall [lagəfəl] NE of Amesbury.

1086 Litlegarsele DB [obviously corrupt]; 1203 de Lotegareshal R. L. Pat.; 1215 Lutegareshal ib; 1227, 1233 Lutegareshal Ch. R; 1233 de Luttegarishal Cl. R; 1251 Ludgershall Ch. R; 1261 of Luttegershale Pat. R; 1264 of Lotegereshale ib.; 1268 Lotegarsal, apud Lutegereshalam Ch. R; 1271 Lotegareshal ib.; 1292 Ludgershall ib.; 1316 de Lutegarshale FA; 1334 de Luggershale Rot. Orig.; 1336 Lutgareshall R. Pat.; 1428 (de) Ludegarsale FA; 1528 of Lurgarsale Cat. A. D.; 1572 Lurgassill Br. Mus.

It is obvious that the first element is made up of a p. n., which is the same one as occurs in the local †ludegarstone CD no. 654, (†)Lutegareshale ib. no. 722 (Lutegareshale, Thorpe) 1, and also in Ludgershall, Bucks. and Glos., and Lurgershall, Sussex (the ME forms of the last three pl. ns being exactly analogous to those of the Wilts. name). It is, however, quite impossible for me to identify this p. n. in any way, for no similar compound is on record either in England or on the Continent. All that seems clear is that its second member is the common (OE) p. n. element $g\bar{a}r$. The explanation of this name must therefore be left to some authority on p. ns.

hall in pl. ns may go back either to OE heall (hall) = 'palace', 'residence', or to healh (halh), dat. heale, which has been thought to denote 'nook', 'corner', 'secret place'; see 'hale' NED, and Wyld, p. 340 f.

The r in the first syllable of the Cat. A. D. and Br. Mus. forms is certainly not a spelling mistake, for we may note the same change in the mod. Lurgershall (Lurgashall), Sussex [see Roberts, p. 105]. This substitution is, no doubt, due to sound-physiological causes (on account of the difficulty of pronouncing two explosives in succession).

¹ There seems, however, no reason to identify this place with Ludgershall, Wilts., as is suggested in the indexes of CD and Thorpe.

Ludwell E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1195 in Ludewell Feet of fines; 1216 Ludewell Rot. Ch.; 1252 Ludewell Ch. R.

Originally *Ludan wiell(e) [wyll(e)]. For the p. n. Luda see Liddington, above. Cf. Ludwell, Oxfs. (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.).

Lushill NW of Highworth.

1268 Lustreshull Pat. R; 1276 Lusteshull Ch. R; 1324 Lusteshull Pat. R; 1329 Lusteshulle C. Inq.; 1428 Lusteshull FA; [n. d.] de Lustreshulle, de Lustrushulle Cat. A. D.

Probably from *Lustan hyll (with a later insertion of the strong gen. ending), *Lusta being a pet-form of some name beginning with Lust-, of which Lustwine is on record. The forms with r inserted are certainly errors, due to the influence of OFrench words in lustr- (e. g. lustreux).

Lydiard Millicent Lydiard Tregoze \ NE of Wootton Bassett.

900 †Lidgeard, †Lidegæard, †Lidgerd CS no. 590 [possibly identical]; 901—24 †Lidgeard ib. no. 591 [poss. ident.]; 1086 Lidiarde (= L. M.), Lediar (= L. T.) DB; 1228 Lydierd Ch. R; 1283 Northlideyerd (= L. M.) Pat. R; 1285 Lidiard, Lydeyerd Ch. R; Edw. I in Lydeyard' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 Lydyerd Milsent, L. Tregos T. Eccl.; 1307 Lydyherd C. Inq.; 1315 Lidiard ib.; 1316 Ledyerd, Lydyerd FA; 1324 Lydeard Tregoz ib.; 1327 Lydeyerd Tregoz C. Inq.; 1349 Suth Ledyerd (= L. T.), North Lidyerd Cal. Inq.; 1428 Lydyard, Lydeyerd Milsent, L. Tregos FA; [n. d.] de Ledeyarde Reg. Malm.

The termination is obviously OE geard (= enclosed place). The etymology of the first element its not clear. The best suggestion that I can offer is that the element may have contained an unrecorded p. n. *Lyda, formed from *Lyding (the patronymic of Luda; see Liddington, above). Cf. Tud(d)a: *Tyd(d)a under Tedworth.

For the e instead of i in the first syllable of some forms above see under Biddestone. On the AN distinctive names see Jones, p. 222 f.

Note. Searle's assumption of a p. n. *Lida, on the ground of the local Lidanege CS no. 1282, p. 585, is probably a mistake, as the first element of the name in question seems to refer to the River Leddon, Worcs.; nor does his inference of a p. n. *Lidgeard from lidgeardes beorge CS no. 1125 seem authenticated, for Lidgeard-may just as well represent a pl. n.

Lidigerd(e) CD no. 897 was obviously in Soms., prob. = Lydeard

St. Lawrence, (not in Wilts., as is stated by Kemble).

Lyneham [lain(h) am] SW of Wootton Bassett.

1285 Linham Ch. R; c. 1290 Lynhm T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 Lynham FA; 1596 Lyncham Br. Mus.

OE *līn-hām; OE līn (= flax) is not uncommon in pl. ns. Note. Lineham, Oxfs., is evidently of the same origin, but Alexander's suggestion that the modern diphthongized vowel of the first element indicates a derivation from the dat. case [consequently *æt līne-ham(m)e] is impossible, as the preposition could only have affected the second element. The retention of the long vowel is simply due to the influence of the independent subst. line (now chiefly a dialectal word).

Maddington WNW of Amesbury.

1277 Madinton C. Inq.; c. 1290 de Madyngtone T. Eccl.; 1294 Wynterburn Maidynton (corrupt) Cal. Inq.; 1316 Madynton FA; 1428 Madyngton FA; 1485, 1493 Wynterborne Madyngton C. Inq.

Probably from *Madinga tūn, the first element being a patronymic of a (hypocoristic?) p. n. *Mada, recorded in the local †Madanlieg (CS no. 1312, which is identified by Birch with Madeley, Staffs.). The name evidently occurs also in Madingley, Cambs. [see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs. p. 67].

The distinctive name refers to the stream on which the place is situated; see Winterbourne Stoke, below.

Maiden Bradley N of Mere.

1086 Bradelie DB; 1178? Deuerell Puellarum Br. Mus.;
c. 1210 Bradele Macray; 1228 Bradeleg Ch. R; Bradleigh

Leprosi Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1267 Meydenebradele Ch. R; 1270 Braddeleg Ch. R; 1271 Maiden Bradley R. Pat.; 1280 Maydenebradelegh C. Inq.; 1281 Deverill Br. Mus.; c. 1290 Bradele Abbis T. Eccl.; 1328 Maydenbradlegh Ch. R; 1428 Bradeley (Abbatis) FA; 1492 Mayden Bradlegh C. Inq.

Originally *et pæm (pære) brādan lēaze. For the distinctive names see Camden, p. 110, and Jones, p. 199. The place is situated at the source of the Deverill-stream, which accounts for the Br. Mus. forms above.

Note. to bradan leage CD no. 133 and †Bradelege ib. no. 460 are erroneously stated by Kemble to be identical with Maiden Bradley. The former of these places was obviously situated in east Wilts. near Bedwyn, and the latter in the north-west, near Brokenborough. There seems also no reason for assuming with Birch and Kemble that †Bradanlæh CS no. 153 (CD no. 79) was situated here.

Malmesbury.

675 †Maldumesburg (†Mealdumesburg) CS no. 37; 681 †Meldulfesbirg (†Meldunesburg) ib. no. 58; 683 †Maldumesburg (†Mældubesburg) ib. no. 65; 701 †Meldumesburg (†Maldunensburg, †Mældumesburgg) ib. no. 103; †Meldumesburg, Meldum ib. no. 105; Maldumes buruh, at Mealdumesbyrig, Meldum ib. no. 106; 705 †Maldubesburg ib. no. 114; [n. d.] Maildulfi urbs Bede; 745 Maldunense monasterium CS no. 170; 758 in Maldubiensi (Maildubiensi) monasterio ib. no. 185; 854 †Malmesburg (†Meldubesburg) ib. no. 470; Alfred †Malduberi, †Mældunesburg, †Mælduburi ib. no. 568; †Mailduberi, †Maldumesburg, Maildubiensis [æcclesiæ] (gen.) ib. no. 569; Æthelstan Meldulfuensis burgi (gen.) ib. no. 720; 937 Meldunensi [ecclesia] (dat.) ib. no. 718; 965-971 to Mealdælmæs byrig ib. no. 1174; 974 †Malmesburgh ib. no. 1300; [1015] binnon Mealdelmes byrig AS Chr. [E], Ealdelmes byrig ib. [C and D]; 1086 Malmesberie, Mamesberie DB; c. 1125 Meldunum (corrupt) W. Malm.; 1131 Malmesberiæ (gen.) Macray; 1199 Maumesbir R. Oblat.; 1200 Malmesbir Rot. Ch.; 1206 Malmesbir R. L. Pat.; 1215 Maumesbir ib.; 1220-25

de Mamesbirie Osmund; 1252 Maumesbiri Ch. R; 1254 Malmysbure Macray; 1280 Malmesbury Ch. R.

This name has been discussed by Miller, Pl. Ns in the Engl. Bede, p. 79 f. The place is, he says, associated 1) with Maildu(l)f, the Scotch founder of the monastery [see Eulogium Cap XCII], 2) with Meldum as founder [see CS no. 105], 3) with Aldhelm, the well-known Malmesbury abbot (died in 709). As far as the first and third suggestions are concerned, there is no objection, but in the case of the second one, there is considerable doubt about the existence of anyone called Meldum, in spite of the statement in CS no. 105: monasterium . . . quod Meldum religiosæ memoriæ condidit, quod etiam nunc Meldumesburg vocatur... This name is most probably a mere construction from Meldumesburg. Malmesbury is consequently in all probability made up of two p. ns only: Maildu(l)f and Aldhelm (Ealdhelm), which have been hopelessly confused with each other in this pl. n. The independent Meldum is, no doubt, a formation quite analogous to Sarum (see below), viz. a latinization, formed from the first syllable of the pl. n. by means of the Latin ending -um. For the loss of u (< l) in Mamesberie, Mamesbirie see Zachrisson, p. 150.

Manningford Abbots
"Bohun
"Bruce

SW of Pewsey.

987 Maningaforda, †Manyngforde L. de Hyda; 1086 Maneforde (= M. A.), Maniford (twice) [= M. Bohun and Bruce] DB; 1142—80 Mangesford Br. Mus.; c. 1200 Manegesford Osmund; 1218 Maningeford Macray; c. 1243 Maniggeford ib.; c. 1290 Manningeford Abbis T. Eccl.; Edw. I Maningford Plac. Warr., Maningford Parva [= M. A.] Rot. H; 1296 Manyngfeld Brewose Pat. R; 1311 Manyngeford (Brewose), Manyngfeld C. Inq.; 1316 Maningford Abbatis, M. Boun, M. Brewose FA; 1324 Manyngeford Brewes ib.; 1325 Manyngford

Brewes C. Inq.; 1428 Manyngford Abbatis, Manyngford Saneti Petri (= M. Bruce) FA.

The first of the forms quoted from L. de Hyda obviously represents the original name. Man(n)ing is a patronymic of the OE p. n. Man(n) or Man(n)a. Manningford Abbots was a former estate of the abbey of St. Peter, Winchester (see DB), whence its distinctive name. 'Bohun' (occurring as 'Bohum' in DB, see Hildebrand, p. 345) and 'Brewose' are AN family names. 'Bruce' in the present case is only a corruption of 'Brewose'.

Manton near Marlborough.

1086 Manetune DB; 1258 Manton C. Inq.; Edw. I Maniton' Rot. H; 1428 Manton FA.

Probably from $*Man(n)an\ t\bar{u}n$; for Man(n)a see preceding name.

Note. Birch's identification of *Meh(h)andun* CS nos. 584, 585 with this place is obviously quite impossible.

Marden or Merton SE of Devizes.

940 †on mærdenum CS no. 748; 963 †merh dæne ib. no. 1118; 1086 Meresdene DB; 1167 Mergdena Pipe R; 1170 Mercdena ib.; 1172 Meredena ib.; 1185 de Meredon' ib.; 1204 in Marden R. Oblat.; 1205 Mereden R. L. Cl.; 1233 Mereden R. fin. exc.; 1261 Mereden Ch R; c. 1290 de Merghdene T. Eccl.; 1316 de Meredene FA; 1321 Merden Cl. R; 1322 Merwheden (twice) Pat. R; Edw. III Merghedene NI; 1428 Mereden, de Merghdene FA.

From the situation of this village it is evident that the original termiantion was OE dene (denu) = 'valley'. The first element obviously contained the subst. mearh (= horse). The old forms quoted above indicate, however, two variants of the original name: *mearh-dene (denu) and *meara dene (denu) [meara gen. plur.]. It is true that both these forms would have given by regular development a instead of e in the first syllable even in the early ME forms. The e-spellings are,

however, easily explained as due to the influence of the many pl. ns containing ME Mere- (< OE $m\bar{e}re$ or mere) as the first element. The s of the DB form may be accounted for in two ways: if Meresdene represents an OE *mearh-dene, the s is an AN rendering of the fricative χ (see under Brigmerston); if, on the other hand, it corresponds to *meara dene, the s has been inserted through analogy with pl. ns, the first element of which has a gen. s.

Another pl. n. containing OE mearh is (on) mearh forda CS no. 931.

Note. From what has been said above it is evident that Plummer's suggestion that Mere tune [A], Mære dune [E]. AS Chr. A. D. 871 are identical with this place must be wrong, as the former of these forms (belonging to the Parker ms) has the strongest claims to be genuine. Kemble's identification of †Meardæno (latex) CD no. 103 with Marden, Wilts., is also an obvious mistake. Meardæno is on the other hand to be located in the vicinity of Malmesbury.

Marlborough [maa(r)lbara, malbara].

1086 in Merleberge DB; 1091 Marleberg Osmund; [1110] at Mærle beorge AS Chr. [E]; 1147 Melleburga Cal. France; c. 1148 Merleberga Osmund; 1158 Merleberg ib.; 1176? Melleberga Cal. France; 1226 Merleburge Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1229, 1246 Marlborough Ch. R; 1258 Marleberg C. Inq.; 1280 Marleborgh ib.; 1308 of Merleberge ib.; 1320 de Marleberewe Cl. R; 1361 de Merleborowe Cal. Inq.; 1390 Marlebergh Br. Mus.; 1428 Marleburg.

The first element seems to be the same as in Marlesford, Suffolk, which Skeat (Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 34) takes to be a p. n. In that case it is certainly connected with the obscure first member of the Scand. Marleswegen (Marlaswegen) [see Björkman, Pers. I p. 93]. The second element

¹ As it seems quite impossible to explain Marl- as a Germanic element, one may be inclined to connect it with the Irish Marlin (the name of the well-known mythical figure in the Arthurian epics).

was OE *beorh*, which later on has been as usual replaced by *borough*; see Brokenborough. The pronunciation [məl-bərə] is due to an older form, in which r has been lost (see Horn § 237, note I).

Marston SW of Potterne.

1309 in Merstone Br. Mus.; 1331 Mersheton Phillipps' fines; 1413 Mershton Cal. Inq.; 1428 Mersheton FA.

Originally *mersc-tūn (OE mersc = marsh). The situation is on low ground on a tributary of the Lower Avon. For the change of sh > s which has taken place in the majority of the pl. ns containing this first element, Alexander (Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 150 f.) assumes, with great probability, that there were two factors which co-operated to this development: 1) the AN spelling s(s) for sh, 2) the analogy of the gen. s of the first element in other pl. ns.

The next two names, which also refer to low-lying places near water, have the same etymology.

Marston Maisey (Meysey) NE of Cricklade.

1194 de Merstoñ Rot. Cur. (or = M. South); Hen. III Merston C. Inq.; c. 1290 Mershtone T. Eccl.; 1301 of Mershtone Meysi Cat. A. D.; 1316 de Northe Mershton FA; 1331 Merston Meysy Pat. R; 1332 Mershton Meysy ib.; 1428 Mersheton FA.

See above. 'Maisey' (Meysey) is a family name, probably of native origin.

Marston, South NE of Swindon.

1262 Merston C. Inq.; 1330 Suthmershton Phillipps' fines. See above.

Marten E of Burbage.

1086 in Mertone (twice) DB; 1227 Merton, Mereton Ch. R; 1246 de Mertone Macray; 1278 Marthon C. Inq.; 1428 Merton FA.

Probably from an original $m\bar{e}re-t\bar{u}n$ (the farm at the border). The termination has become -ten through weakening.

Medbourne SE of Swindon.

955 †on medebourne CS no. 904 (prob. identical); 1306 Medburne Cal. Inq.; 1392 Medebourne ib.; [n. d.] Medeburne Cat. A. D.

No doubt from an original *wt (pære) mæd-burne [wt (pæm. pære) mæd-burnan], denoting the little affluent of the r. Cole here. WS mæd (Angl. mæd) = 'meadow' (mead). We obviously have the same name in medeburne (Dors.?) CS no. 754, and in mod. Medbourne (Leics.) [occurring as Medburne in DB, 1278 Medburn C. Inq., Medburn TN].

Melksham NE of Trowbridge.

1086 Melchesham (twice) DB; 1194 Melcheshā, Melkeshā. Mulcheshā Rot. Cur.; 1200 Melkesham Osmund; 1222 Melkeham R. L. Cl.; 1228 de Milkesham' Cl. R; 1232 Melkesham Ch. R; 1240 Melcsham Pat. R; 1253 Melkesham C. Inq.; 1260 Melksham Ch. R; 1280 Mulkesham Cl. R; 1316 Melkesham FA; 1377 Melchesham R. Pat.; 1458 Milkesham Br. Mus.

Originally *meole-hām. This place must consequently have been a sort of dairy farm in OE times. The -s- is no doubt, a later insertion.

Mere $[mi\partial(r)]$.

1086 Mera, Mere DB; 1091, c. 1190 Mera Osmund; 1220 Mere ib.; 1243 Mere Ch. R; 1316 Mayre FA; 1380 Meere Cal. Inq.; 1402 Mere FA.

OE mære (= boundary, landmark). As the town is situated in the SW corner of the county near the border of Soms., it is most probable that the name originally denoted the

border between the 'Wilsæte' and the 'Sumorsæte'. Mayre (FA) is to be considered as an inverted spelling (French $ai > M \to \bar{a}$).

Merton see Marden.

Midgehall near Wootton Bassett.

1319 of Miggehale Pat. R.

Probably from *Meczan heall (or healh), Mecza being an OE p. n. (recorded among the signatories in CS no. 379), no doubt the same word as OE mæcza (*mecza) = 'man'. Cf. Midgehalgh, Lancs., which probably also contains the same p. n. (see the old forms quoted by Wyld). For healh see Ludgershall.

Milbourne a suburb of Malmesbury.

1315 Milburn Rot. Orig.; Mulburn Pat. R; 1388 Mulberne. Originally *æt (þære) mylen-burne [æt (þæm, þære) mylen-burnan], denoting a tributary of the Lower Avon.

Mildenhall (locally 'Minall') ENE of Marlborough.

803—805 †Mildanhald CS no. 324; 1086 Mildenhalle DB; 1241 in Mildehale Ch. R; 1260 Mildehal C. Inq.; 1281 Mildehall ib.; 1316 de Mildenhale FA; 1327 Mildenhale C. Inq.; 1428 de Myldenhale FA.

From *Mildan heall, *Milda probably representing some name beginning with Mild-, e. g. Mildred; cf. Milston, below. The final d in the CS form must be an error.

Milford at Salisbury.

1086 Meleford (twice) DB; Hen. III Muleford Rot. H., C. Inq.; Edw. I Muleford Rot. H.; early 14th cent. Muleford TN.

¹ The question of the exact limits of the counties in OE times seems not to be quite settled, but their general limits are considered to be of great antiquity (see Pearson, p. 27).

Originally *mylen-ford. For e as a representative of OE y in DB see Stolze § 15.

Milston N of Amesbury.

1086 Mildestone (twice) DB; 1178? Mildistona Br. Mus.; 1199 in Mildeston Rot. Ch.; 1272 Mildeston C. Inq.; 1270 Mildestona Ch. R; 1330 Mulleston C. Inq.; 1361 Mileston Cal. Inq.; 1428 Mildeston FA.

Probably from *Mildan $t\bar{u}n$ (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen. ending). For Milda see Mildenhall, above. u in Mulleston stands for a secondary y.

Milton Lilbourne E of Pewsey.

1205 in Midelton R. L. Cl. [prob. identical]; 1281 Middelton Lillebon C. Inq.; c. 1290 Middelton T. Eccl.; 1308 to Middletone C. Inq.; 1319 Middelton Lillebon ib.; 1402 Milton FA; 1416 Milton Cal Inq.; 1428 Myd(d)elton FA.

Originally *middel- $t\bar{u}n$. 'Lillebon' looks like a French family name, of which 'Lilbourne' in that case must be a corrupt form.

Minety NE of Malmesbury.

844 †Minty (Mintyg) CS no. 447; 880 †Mintih, †Minti (Mintig) ib. no. 444; 1199 Minthy Rot. Ch.; 1232 Minthi, Menthi Ch. R; 1258 Mynti ib.; 1336 Minty ib.; 1428 Mynty FA.

The first element is OE *minte* (= mint) and the termination *iez* (here as always in Wilts. pl. ns denoting 'marshy land')¹.

Monkton Deverill NE of Mere.

1086 Devrel DB 66 c or 66 d; Edw. I Deverel Monketon Rot. H; c. 1290 Deverel Monachor' T. Eccl.; 1316 Monketon FA; 1336 Monketon Deverel Cal. Inq.; 1340 Monkendeverel Cl. R.

¹ It is a well-known fact that the most common species of this plant (Mentha arvensis) flourishes on moist ground.

'Monkton' is here probably a distinctive name, due to the fact that the abbot of Glastonbury was formerly tenant of the manor (see DB). For *Monken*- (Cl. R), which seems to be improperly added here as well as in the following name, see Kington St. Michael, above. For *Deverill*, see Brixton D.

Monkton Farleigh E of Bath (Soms.).

1001 †at Farnléghe CD no. 706; 1086 Farlege DB 73 c; 1194 de Farnlege, Ferleia, Ferneleia Rot. Cur.; 1227 Ferleg(h) Ch. R; de Farlegh' Cl. R; c. 1243 Fernleya, de Fernlege, Farleyge Macray; 1316 Farley Monachorum FA; 1363 Munkesfarlegh Cal. Inq; 1397 in Farleghe Br. Mus.; 1400 Monken Farlegh Cat. A. D.; 1408 Monkenfarlegh Phillipps' fines.

Originally *fearn-lēah (OE fearn = fern). The distinctive name refers to a Cluniac priory, which was founded here in the 12th cent. (Heath, p. 233). For Monken- see Kington St. Michael and preceding name.

Moredon [mi(r)d'n] NNW of Swindon.

1086 Mordone DB; 1227 in Mordone Br. Mus.; 1305 Mordon Cl. R.

Originally * $m\bar{o}r$ - $d\bar{u}n$. OE $m\bar{o}r$ = 'moor', 'waste (and damp) land'. The \bar{o} of the first element has been shortened in ME before two consonants.

Note. Wyld's suggestion, p. 191, that the first element of Moreton, Lancs., is OE * $zem\bar{a}re$ (= $zem\bar{e}re$) must be a mistake, as no unmutated variant of $zem\bar{e}re$ exists.

Murcott $[m\partial \partial(r)k\partial t]$ NNE of Malmesbury.

1065 †Morcotun CD no. 817; [n. d.] Morkote, Morcote Reg. Malm.

Originally $*m\bar{o}r\text{-}cot(e)$. The vowel of the first element was obviously shortened in late ME or early NE while it was at the stage \bar{u} of its development (see Horn § 103: 2), after which it had the same development as the genuine

u-vowel (before r + cons.); see Horn § 65. The quoted CD form may represent the OE dat. plur., or — as seems more probable — -tun has been added by the scribe through the influence of the other pl. ns in $-t\bar{u}n$ occurring together with this name in the charter referred to.

Netheravon S of Enford.

1086 (in) Nigravre, Nigravra DB; c. 1115 Netheravon Osmund; 1149—53 Nederauena Round, Ancient ch.; 1158 Netheraven Osmund; 1173 Neŏerauena Pipe R; 1212 de Nederaven, de Nethaven R. L. Cl.; 1226 Nutheraven Osmund; c. 1290 de Nytherhavene T. Eccl.; 1316 de Netheravene FA; 1331 of Netherhavenne Ch. R; 1428 in Nether Havene FA.

Originally *et niðer-Afene or *et $p\bar{e}m$ niðeran Afene. The DB forms are accounted for by Zachrisson, pp. 117, 142 . For the initial h of the second element in some ME forms see under Avon.

Netherhampton SSE of Wilton.

1316 Nether Hampton FA; 1333 Nitherhampton Cl. R; Nytherhampton C. Inq.

The second element goes back to $*h\bar{a}m$ - $t\bar{u}n$ (not $*h\bar{e}an$ - $t\bar{u}n$, as the place is situated in the Nadder valley). Nether serves to distinguish this place from the neighbouring Quidhampton, Chilhampton, and Ditchampton.

Nettleton WSW of Grittleton.

944 †at Netelintone, †de Netelingtone CS no. 800 [possibly identical]; 956 †at Netelingtone ib. no. 933; 1086 Niteletone DB; c. 1290 Netlinton T. Eccl.; 1316 de Neteltone FA;

¹ The suggestion of Jones, p. 226, that these forms represent 'nigrum arvum', a Lat. rendering of 'Black Heath', the name of the downs NW of Netheravon seems too hypothetical to be trusted, for Lat. 'arvum' would certainly not have been used to denote an unfertile heath.

⁹ E. Ekblom

1324 Nettelton ib.; 1330 Netelton Ch. R; 1428 Netelton, Netylton FA; 1493 Nettleton Br. Mus.

From *Nyttelinga (or *Nyttelan) $t\bar{u}n$, *Nyttel(a) being a diminutive of Nytta, a p. n. occurring in LVD. The reason why e has replaced y (i) in the first syllable must be association with the subst. nettle, for OE y does not develop into e in this dialect. Cf. Ebbesborne, above.

Netton NNE of Wilton.

1308 Netton C. Inq.; early 14th cent. Neteton TN; 1322 Netteton C. Inq.

Possibly from OE *net(t)- $t\bar{u}n$ ('an enlosure fenced in by nets'); cf. Stanton, Stockton.

Newnton, Long NW of Malmesbury.

681 †Niuentun CS no. 58; 1065 Newentuna CD no. 817; 1086 Newentone DB 67 a; c. 1290 Niweton, Neuton T. Eccl.; 1316 Newynton FA; 1331 Long Newenton Phillipps' fines; Edw. III de Nywyntone NI; 1428 Neweton FA.

From an original *xt ($p\bar{x}m$) $n\bar{x}wan$ $t\bar{u}ne$. The OE dat. n has consequently survived in this pl. n. as well as in the following.

Newnton, North SW of Pewsey.

892 †Norpniwetune CS no. 567; 933 †Nywantun ib. no. 699; 1086 Neweton DB 67 d; 1199 de Niwentoñ Rot. Ch. [prob. identical]; c. 1290 Northnyweton T. Eccl.; 1296 Northnewendon Pat. R; 1316 de Newentone FA; 1428 Nyweton, North Newton ib.

See preceding name.

Newton Toney ESE of Amesbury.

1086 Newentone DB 70 b; 1256 Newton C. Inq.; 1270 Niwetona (Umfridi de Bohum), Niwetona (Johannis de Nevill) Ch. R; c. 1290 Neweton T. Eccl.; 1316 Nywenton FA;

1363 Newynton Tony, Newenton Touny Cl. R; 1369 Newenton Tony Cal. Inq.; 1428 Nyweton Teny FA.

See above. The change of -en- > ing is due to analogy with pl. ns, the first element of which contains a patronymic. The distinctive names are AN family names. For 'Toney' see Hildebrand, p. 343.

Newton Without, South NNW of Wilton.

943 †Sud Niwetune, in Niwantune CS no. 782; 1086 Newentone DB 68 a; c. 1190 Sud Nyweton Macray; c. 1290 de Suthnywetone T. Eccl.; 1316 Neweton FA; 1358 Newenton Cl. R; 1453 Sowthe Newton Cal. Inq.

'Without' refers to the situation of this parish outside the municipal borough of Wilton, in which part of the old parish is incorporated.

Norrington near Alvediston.

1307 Northynton Ch. R; 1312 Nhorthyntone C. Inq.; 1331 Northyngton Phillipps' fines; 1361 Northynkton Cl. R; 1485 Northyngton C. Inq.

This name may be derived from *Norðinga tūn, Norðing being a patronymic of *Norða, a shortened form of some name beginning with Norð- (e. g. Norðman, Norðgar). The assimilation of r and δ seems to have taken place at a rather late period.

Norton SW of Malmesbury.

931 †Northun, †Northon, †de Nortone CS nos. 671, 672; 1065 †Nortuna CD no. 817; 1086 Nortone DB no. 67 a; 1222 de Northone Macray; c. 1290 Norton T. Eccl.

OE *norp-tūn.

Norton Bavant NW of Heytesbury.

1086 Nortone DB no. 70 c; c. 1290 Northton, Northone T. Eccl.; 1335 Norton Seydemor C. Inq.; 1428 Norton Bavent FA.

OE *norp-tūn. 'Bavant' (Bavent) and 'Scydemor' (Scudamore) are family names¹, the former AN; see Bardsley. The latter refers to the Petrus de Skydemore to whom Upton Scudamore owes its dist. name (see Rot. H. II, p. 277).

Oakhill WSW of Hungerford (Berks).

1257 Hochulle, Hokhull C. lnq.; 1428 Hokhull FA.

The sense is obvious. For the initial h see under Avon.

Oaksey NE of Malmesbury.

1086 Wochesie DB; 1197 Wokesia Feet of fines; 1274 of Wockes(eie) C. Inq.; 1275 at Wokeseye Ch. R; c. 1290 de Wokeseye T. Eccl.; 1302 of Wokeseye Ch. R; 1324 Wockesey FA; 1402 in Wokkeseye ib.; 1428 Wokesey, de Wockeseye ib.

Probably from *Woc(e)es iez. A p. n. *Woc(e) certainly existed in OE, if we may judge from the local wocces geat (CS nos. 594, 1080); see also Förstemann, Pers. 1628 f. The termination means 'marshy land' (referring either to the east or south portion of the present parish, both of which have a low situation and are watered by the Thames and the Swill brook respectively). For the loss of the initial w see Horn § 173.

Oare N of Pewsey.

1232 in Orc Ch. R; 1316 de Ore FA; 1428 in Oare ib.; 1498 in Ore C. Inq.

Originally *\bar{o}ra, *\alpha t (p\bar{e}m) \bar{o}ran (= border, edge). OE \bar{o}ra being a word chiefly used in pl. ns [e. g. on Windlesoran AS Chr. E (A. D. 1096) = Windsor, Berks.] The present name no doubt refers to the long well-marked edge of Hewish Hill, under which the village lies.

Odstock S of Salisbury.

1086 Odestoche DB; 1173 Odestocha Pipe R; 1199 Odestoka

¹ See Jones, p. 226.

Feet of fines; 1281 Oddestock Ch. R; 1316 de Oddestoke FA; 1428 Odestok, in Odestoke ib.

Probably from *Odan stoc. For the p. n. Oda see Forssner, p. 198 f.

Ogbourne St. Andrew N of Marlborough.

1086 Ocheborne, Ocheburne DB; 1133 Occheburna Cal. France; c. 1190 Ockeburn ib.; 1208 Okeburn Osmund; 1252 Ockeburn Ch. R; 1277 Hokeburn Pat. R; Edw. I Northokeburne Rot. H. (= O. St. George); 1316 Okkeburne Parva FA (= O. St. Andrew); O. Magna ib. (= O. St. George); 1428 Okeburn Sancti Andree, Okebourne minori ib.; O. Sancti Georgii, O. majori ib.

Originally *wt Oc(c)an burne [burnan], viz., the affluent of the r. Kennet. now called 'the Og' (a back-formation from Ogbourne). *Oc(c)a, recorded in the local ocan léa CS no. 627, occan slæw (prob. mistake for hlæw) ib. no. 1230, is probably a variant of the p. n. Ocea, which occurs among the signatories of several OE charters. The distinctive names refer to churches.

Note. In this connection attention may be drawn to the name Oglethorpe, W. R. of Yorks. Moorman's statement that Ogle-might represent the p. n. Acwulf cannot possibly be correct on account of the DB forms, which are Ocelestorp, Oglestorp. I am, on the contrary, inclined to trace a diminutive form of *Oc(c)a, Ocea in this name, viz. *Ocel(a).

Orcheston St. George St. Mary NW of Amesbury.

1086 (in) Orcestone, Orchestone DB; 1195 de Orchesden Feet of fines; 1261 Orcheston C. Inq.; 1281 Horcheston Ch. R; 1314 Ordrycheston C. Inq.; 1316 Orcheston FA; 1428 Orcheston Georgii ib.; O. Boyvile ib. (= O. St. Mary).

From *Ordrices tün, Ordric being an OE p. n. Cf. the development of Urchfort (Erchfort), below. The distinctive

names refer to churches. 'Boyvile' (Bovill) is an AN family name (see Bardsley).

Overton, West WSW of Marlborough.

939 †Uferan tun, †Oferan tun(es), †Ofretone CS no. 734; 949 †æt Ofærtune ib. no. 875 (possibly identical); 972 †æt Uuertune ib. no. 1285; 1086 Ovretone DB; 1284 Overton Ch. R; Edw. I Westovtone Rot. H; 1316 Overton (Abbatisse) FA.

Originally *se ufer(r)a $t\bar{u}n$ [*et $p\bar{e}m$ ufer(r)an $t\bar{u}ne$].

The distinctive name in FA refers to the abbess of Wilton, who is mentioned as tenant here in DB.

Note. Kemble's identification of *Uferantune* CD nos. 1092, 1094 with this place is erroneous. It is, on the contrary, identical with Overton (SW of Basingstoke), Hants. (æt) *Uferantune* CS no. 1152 is also identical with this Hants. place, although Birch incorrectly locates it in Wilts.

Oxenwood ESE of Burbage.

1265 Oxinwod Pat. R; 1332 Oxenewode C. Inq. No comments needed.

Patney SE of Devizes.

963 æt Peatanige, to Peattanige, to Pittanige CS no. 1118; c. 1050 †æt Peattanigge CD no. 949 (prob. identical); 1221 Patenia Macray; 1284 Patney Ch. R; c. 1290 Pateny T. Eccl.; 1300 Pateneye Ch. R; 1331 în Pateneye C. Inq.

The termination is OE iez (here = 'marshy land'). The first element can hardly be anything but a p. n. (of unknown origin), the same as that which occurs in †Peatting tune CS no. 587. *Pitta in Pittanige, if not merely a mistake, is to be considered as a variant of *Peatta, formed from the regular patronymic of this name [*Pi(e)tting]. Cf. Tud(d)a: *Tyd(d)a, under Tedworth, below.

Paxcroft ENE of Trowbridge.

1253 Packelescrofte C, Inq.

The first element contains the diminutive of a p. n. which is certainly not on record independently but the existence of which is nevertheless proved by several local names: †Peccinges CD no. 414, Pæccingas ib. nos. 481, 715, 896 (= Patching, Sussex), †Pakenhám ib. nos. 851, 957, †Pakinton ib. no. 916, †Pakyngton ib. 939 (the two latter = Packington, Leics.), Pacleshám ib. no. 824. The termination is OE croft (= 'enclosed field').

Pertwood NW of Hindon.

1086 Perteworde DB; 1166 Ptewurda Pipe R; 1200 Perteswrde, Perteswrth Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1324 Perteworth FA; 1365 Perteworth Phillipps' fines.

The first element was probably a p. n., the same as that which occurs in peartan heal CS no. 1282, p. 587, and Peartinga wyrth ib. no. 262; cf. also Pertenhall, Beds. (see Skeat Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 23 f.) The first member of Pertnith, found on a coin of the time of Ceolwulf I, seems to be the same. The early forms show that the termination of the present pl. n. was originally OE weorp.

Pewsey SSW of Marlborough.

880—85 †æt Pefesigge, †Pevesy, †Pefesy CS nos. 553, 554, 555; 940 Pevesige ib. no. 748; 1086 (de) Pevesie (four times) DB; 1166 Peuesia Pipe R; c. 1290 Peveseya T. Eccl.; 1316 de Peueseye FA; 1324 Peuesy ib.; 1428 de Peueseye ib.

The termination is OE iez (= marshy land). The first element most probably contains the p. n. Peuf, found in LVD beside the weak Peufa, probably of Celtic origin; see Müller, p. 43.

Pewsham SE of Chippenham.

1263 Peusham Pat. R; 1284 Pewesham Cl. R; 1288 Peuwesham Cat. A. D.; 1298 Pewesham Pat. R; 1303 Pevesham

¹ Also written pyrtan h. in the same charter, for which cf. Pittanige (mod. Patney) above.

R. Pat.; 1307 Pewsham C. Inq.; 1315 Pewesham ib.; 1320 Powesham Cl. R.

Probably from *Peufes hām. For Peuf see preceding name.

Pitton E of Salisbury.

1215—20 Putton Osmund; 1246 Putton Ch. R; 1255 Put(t)on Pat. R; 1273 Puttone C. Inq.; c. 1290 Puttene T. Eccl.: early 14th cent. Piton TN; 1316, 1402 Putton FA.

I suggest an original *pytt- $t\bar{u}n$; (pytt = `pit').

Porton SE of Amesbury.

1086 in Poertone (prob. identical), Portone DB; 1269 de Portone Macray; c. 1290 Portun T. Eccl.; 1316 Pourton FA; 1326 Porton C. Inq.; 1428 Porton FA.

The origin of the first element is obscure.

Potterne [poto(r)n] SSW of Devizes.

1086 (in) Poterne DB; 1091 Potern Osmund; 1146 Poternam (Lat. acc.) Macray; 1148 Poternas ib.; 1195 Poterna Feet of fines; 1236 Poterne Ch. R; 1279 Poterna C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 Potterne FA.

The original form may have been *Put(t)an ærn; Put(t)a is recorded as an OE p. n.² Cf. Chitterne, Colerne, Vasterne.

Poulshot [poulfat] SW of Devizes.

1199 Paulesholt Rot. Cur.; 1220—28 de Paulesholte Macray; 1228 Paleshot Cl. R; 1272, 1279 Paulesholt(e) C. Inq.; early

¹ The final -s is no doubt a mistake, due to the influence of Caningas, which occurs immediately before it in the document.

² To infer, with Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 54, an OE p. n. *Pot, *Pot(t)a from the patronymic Pot(t)ing- (in †Pottingtún CD no. 1299, †Potintún ib. no. 1358, and †potingdún ib. 1368) is rather dangerous, as it is impossible to know if the o-vowel is genuine.

14th cent. Pawelesholt TN; 1316 de Paulesholte FA; 1422 Polesholt Cal. Inq.; 1428 Poulesholt FA.

Originally *Paules holt. The loss of l in the termination is due to weakened stress. Note the spelling pron. of the mod. name.

Preshute Within [prefət] in the mun. bor. of Marlborough.

" Without adjoining the above.

1185 Prestcheta Pipe R; 1223 de Preschete Macray; 1252 Preschut, Preshut ib.; c. 1290 Prescut T. Eccl.; 1313 de Purshute Cl. R; 1314 de Pershute ib.; 1320 of Pershute Pat. R; 1332 Preshute Phillipps' fines; 1338 of Prestchute ib.; 1426 Presshuyte Cal. Inq.; 1428 Presthut FA; 1534 Preshet Dugdale.

This cannot possibly be a pure Germanic name. It seems as if the same Celtic word as occurs in *Chute*, above, is also present here.

Purton NW of Swindon.

796 †Piertean (corrupt), †(de) Puritone, †Perytun, (†Puritun) CS no. 279 (prob. identical); 854 †at Peritune (Pirigtune) ib. no. 470 (prob. ident.); 1065 †Pirituna CD no. 817 (prob. ident.); 1086 Piritone DB; 1257 in Periton R. fin. exc.; 1281 Peritone C. Inq.; c. 1290 Puryton T. Eccl.; Pyriton C. Inq.; 1299 Pyryton Br. Mus.; 1316 de Purytone FA; 1428 Puryton ib.; 1494 Pereton C. Inq.; 1498 Pyrton ib.; 1568 Perton alias Purton Cat. A. D.

The first element is OE pirize = 'pear-tree'. The forms with e in the first syllable have, no doubt, been influenced by ME pere (< OE pere, peru = NE 'pear').

Purton Stoke N of Purton.

1476 Puryton Stoke Cat. A. D.

Originally *et [$\hbar \bar{e}m$] stoce; see under Baverstock. Purton is only a distinctive name (referring to the neighbouring Purton).

Quemerford near Calne.

1240—45 Quemerford Macray; 1293 Quimerford Cal. Inq.; 1370 Quemerford Phillipps' fines; 1404 Quimerford Cal. Inq. It is impossible to identify the first element¹. The form Cummerford, quoted by Camden p. 106, must be corrupt.

Quidhampton W of Salisbury.

1287 Quidhamton C. Inq.; Edw. I Quedhampton Plac. Warr.; 1324 Quidhamptone C. Inq.; 1331 Quedehampton Phillipps' fines; 1459 Quyddehampton Cal. Inq.; 1485 Quedham(p)ton C. Inq.; 1493 Quydhampton, Quedehampton ib.

Quid- cannot possibly be a Germanic element. Cf. Quidenham Norfolk, (occurring as Cuidenham in DB, Quydenham, Quidynham C. Inq.). -hampton goes back to OE *hām-tūn.

Rabson N of Avebury.

Edw. 1 Rabbedestone Rot. H; 1316, 1428 Rabbedeston FA. From *Radbodes tūn, Radbod being a Continental-Germanic p. n.; see Forssner, p. 205. The loss of t in the second element is due to weakening; cf. Hodson, above.

Ramsbury NW of Hungerford (Berks.).

909 (ad ecclesiam) Corviniensem Osmund (prob. referring to this place); 947 †rammesburi CS no. 828 (prob. ident.); 1023 Coruiniensis (ecclesiæ) CD no. 737 (prob.); 1086 Ramesberie DB; 1091 Rammesbiri Osmund; c. 1125 Ramesberia W. Malm.; 1146 Rammesberiam (acc.) Macray; 1196 Ramesbir Feet of fines; 1227 Remmisbiri Ch. R; 1240 Ramesbiri ib.; Remmesbure Macray; 1275 Ramsbury Ch. R; 1294, 1300 Remmesbury ib.; 1316 Rammesbury FA; 1428 Remmesbury ib.

It is often a matter of mere conjecture to say whether the common elements Raven-, Ram- in Engl. pl. ns origin-

¹ An OE p. n. *Cwenmer can hardly be assumed, as the member -mer (which would here represent $m\bar{e}ru$) is quite unknown in female names,

ally represent OE hræfn (hræmn) = 'raven', or the Scand. p. n. Raf(e)n (see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 109). In the present name, however, the latter alternative is strongly supported by the character of the second element. For the development of Rafn > Ramn, see Bülbring § 485. The e-vowel in the first syllable of some ME forms is due to the influence of the bird's name, ME rem (< OE hrem).

Ratfyn near Amesbury.

1086 Rotefeld(e) (twice) DB¹; c. 1115, 1226 Rotefen Osmund; 1270 Rothefen Ch. R; c. 1290 Roffen T. Eccl.; Edw. III Rothefen NI; 1428 Roffen FA; 1540 Rothfenne Dugdale.

Probably from *Hrōpan fen(n), *Hrōpa being a pet-form of some p. n. beginning with $Hr\bar{o}p$ -, e. g. $Hr\bar{o}p$ gar, $Hr\bar{o}p$ -mund (see Müller, p. 105 f.). The change of o > a is due to the dialectal peculiarity mentioned in connection with Calcutt, above. It is curious that the weakening of the second element has resulted in -fyn (fin) instead of $f \partial n$. For the unusual rendering of intervocalic δ by t in early ME documents see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. The later change of p > t is due to the following fricative.

The place has a low situation by the East Avon.

Ridge E of Hindon.

1407 Rugge Cal. Inq.; 1558 Ridge Br. Mus. 'The ridge' (of the down).

Rockley NW of Marlborough.

1086 (in) Rochelie DB; 1221 Rokel R. L. Cl.; 1270 Roclea Ch. R; 1273 Rocle C. Inq.; 1299 Roukley Cal. Inq.; 1316 Roucle FA; 1335 Rockle C. Inq.; 1428 Rokele FA; 1485 Rokeley C. Inq.

¹ This place is certainly situated in Ambresbury hundred, and, if not identical with modern Ratfyn, the places seem at least to be connected with each other on account of the similarity of the first elements.

Probably from an original *et $p\bar{e}m$ ($p\bar{e}re$) $hr\bar{o}e$ - $l\bar{e}aze$ (OE $hr\bar{o}e$ = 'rook'). The ou in Cal. Inq. and FA may denote simply \bar{o} .

Rodbourne S of Malmesbury.

701 †Redburna (latex), [†Reodburna] CS no. 103; 758 †Reodburna (latex), [†Rotburne] ib. no. 185; 844 †Rodburne ib. no. 444; 982 †Reodburna, †Rodburne CD no. 632 (prob. identical); 1065 Rodburna ib. no. 817; 1232 Redburn Cl. R (or = R. Cheney); 1316 Rodburne FA; 1453 Roddeborne Cal. Inq. (or = R. Cheney).

Originally *et pēm (pēre) hrēod-burnan (*et pēre hrēod-burne), burne referring here to the little affluent of the Lower Avon which flows south of the ancient 'Corsburn' (mod. Gauze brook). OE hrēod = 'reed'. Shifting of stress has taken place in the OE diphthong.

Note. There seems no reason to locate (on) $Hre\acute{o}dburnan$, $\dagger Hr\acute{e}dburnan$ CD nos. 1146, 1185 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index.

Rodbourne Cheney NNW of Swindon.

1086 Redborne DB; c. 1290 Rodeburn T. Eccl.; 1316 Rodburne FA; 1428 Rodebourne, Rodeburn ib.

This name, which has obviously the same derivation as the preceding one, designated originally the little stream here that runs into the r. Ray (an affluent of the Thames).

'Cheney' is an AN family name, see Bardsley; and Jones, p. 229.

Rollestone [roulst'n] W of Amesbury.

c. 1290, de Rolvestone T. Eccl.; 1428 Rolveston, Rouleston FA. This name obviously contains the Scand. p. n. Rolf, for which see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 113. The termination is OE $t\bar{u}n$.

¹ See under Corston, above.

Rood Ashton SE of Trowbridge.

1475 Rode Assheton Cal. Inq.; 1596 Rowde Asheton Br. Mus. See Steeple Ashton, below. The distinctive 'Rood' must refer to a cross which formerly existed here.

Roundway [or 'Roundaway'] NNE of Devizes.

1316 Ryndewey FA; 1337 Ryndway Phillipps' fines; 1428 Ryng(e)wey FA; 1491 Rundewey C. Inq.

The most plausible origin of this name is *Hringan weze (*æt Hringan weze)¹, *Hringa being a hypocoristic form of such p. ns as Hringwine, Hringwulf. The modern Roundis in that case easily explained as a popular development, caused by ME *Run-, an AN rendering of Ryng-; (cf. Groundwell, Landford, above).

Rowde [roud] NW of Devizes.

1086 Rode DB [prob. identical]; 1205 Rodes, Rudes R. L. Cl.; 1221, 1223 Rudes Pat. R; 1261 Roudes ib.; c. 1290 Roudes T. Eccl.; 1316 Roudes FA; 1318 Roude Cl. R; 1330 Roud Pat. R; 1428 Rowes (corrupt) FA.

It is not improbable that this name represents OE $r\bar{u}de$ f. (plur. $r\bar{u}dan$) = mod. 'rue' (a plant of the genus 'Ruta', formerly used for medicinal purposes). Rowde may consequently be a pl. n. analogous with Bedwyn, Bremhill, above. Most of the ME forms show substitution of strong plur. ending for the original weak one.

Rushall $[r \partial f' l]$ SW of Pewsey.

1086 Rusteselve (corrupt), Rusteselle ² DB; 1160 Rusteshala Pipe R; c. 1200 de Rusteshale Osmund; 1207 de Rusteshall R. Oblat.; 1258 Rusteshal C. Inq.; 1284 Rusteshell

¹ The possibility that the adj. 'round' formed part of the original name is, on the contrary, not supported by the quoted ME forms.

² Or possibly meant to be *Lusteselle*, as is supposed by Jones, p. 230, in which case it would be identical with Lushill.

Pat. R; of Rosteshale Cl. R; 1285 (in) Rusteshale Ch. R; c. 1290 de Rusteshale T. Eccl.; 1316 de Rusteshale FA; 1397 Rusthalle Cal. Inq.

Originally *Rustes (Rustan?) heall (or healh). A p. n. *Rust (*Rusta) is not on record, but its existence seems authenticated by the local Rustington, Sussex, (see the old forms quoted by Roberts, p. 136), and †rusting den CS no. 459.

Salisbury or New Sarum.

1146 Sarisberiæ (Lat. gen.) Macray; 1205 Salesbir Rot. Ch.; 1218 Sarrisburie Pat. R; 1227 Novæ Sarum (Sarisberiæ) (Lat. gen.) Macray; 1232 Sarresbiri, of Saresberie Ch. R; 1258 New Sarum C. Inq.; 1268 apud Saresbyriam Ch. R; 1270 Saresbury ib.; 1289 Sarrum C. Inq.; 1316 Nove Sarisburie (gen.) FA; 1336 Salesbirs Pat. R; 1376 Saresbirs Cl. R; 1428 Nova Sarisburia FA.

See Sarum, Old, below. For the final s in the forms of 1336, 1376 see Westphal § 24.

Salterton NNW of Salisbury.

1309 Saltertone, Salterton Derneford C. Inq.; 1428 Salterton FA.

Originally *sealtera (sealteres?) tūn. OE sealtere, saltere = 'a salter', 'dealer in salt'. Cf. sealtera cumb CS nos. 158, 727, †(on) salter forda ib. no. 1109, saltera weg ib. no. 1282, p. 588. The distinctive Derneford refers to the neighbouring Durnford.

Salthrop SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 Salteharpe DB; 1198 Sauteharp Feet of fines; 1240 de Saltharp' Cl. R; early 14th cent. in Saltharpe TN; 1328 Saltharpe C. Inq.; 1428 Saltharp FA.

Originally *sealt-porp, probably denoting a place where salt was stored for sale. Salt- is a rather common element in Engl. pl. ns. It is curious that in all the ME forms the

termination shows weakened stress. Has the element possibly been influenced by the dialectal tendency to change o > a (see Calcutt)?

Sandridge NW of Devizes.

1418 Sandrigge Cal. Inq.
The meaning is obvious.

Sarum, Old N of Salisbury.

[552] æt Searo byrg AS Chr. [Ā], Searo byrig ib. [E], Sælesberi ib. [F]; [1003] to Searbyrig ib. [E, F]; [1085] to Seare byrig ib. [E]; 1086 Sarisberie DB; 1091 Sarum Osmund; [1096, 1099, 1100, 1106] (on, of, æt) Sear byrig ib. [E]; [1123] of Seres byrig, of Særes byrig, of Seares byrig ib. [E]; [1125] of Særesbyrig ib. [E]; [1126, 1130] of Særes byri ib. [E]; [1132] of Seresberi ib. [E]; [1137] of Sereberi ib. [E]; 1195 Veteris Sarum (gen.) Macray; 1218 apud Veteres Sarisbirias ib.; 1319 Old Sarum C. Inq.; c. 1540 Old-Saresbyry Leland.

Old Sarum is a place of great antiquity and is generally considered to be the *Sorbiodunum (Sorbiodoni, Sorvioduni) mentioned in Antoninus' Itinerary. If this is the case, it seems not improbable that Searo- in Searobyrig may be simply an AS corruption of the first element of the Celtic name (no other pl. n. containing OE searu is on record). The insertion of s in the composition-joint is due to analogy with other pl. ns in -byrig, which as a rule have a gen. s. The change of r > l is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, pp. 120, 130.

Sarum was formed from the first element of Saresbury by means of the Latin ending -um, (see Zachrisson: Some Inst. of Lat. Infl. on Engl. Pl. Nomencl., p. 11); cf. Meldum under Malmesbury.

Savernake (Forest) SE of Marlborough.

933 Safernoc (silva) CS no. 699; 1221 de Savernak R. L. Cl.; 1223 de Severnak ib.; 1232 Savernak Ch. R; 1246 of

Savernake ib.; 1248 Savernac ib.; 1306, 1333, 1355 Severnak Cl. R; 1354, 1426 Savernack Cal. Inq.

This name can hardly be Germanic. Guest, p. 61, states as his opinion that it is connected with the name of the River Severn, which he takes to be derived from the Irish sab(h)rann (= boundary)¹, Savernake representing an adj. *sab(h)ranach from this subst. [coit (= 'wood') understood].

Seagry SSE of Malmesbury.

1086 Segrie DB; 1207 Segrey Rot. Ch.; 1217 Segre R. L. Cl.; c. 1220 Segreya Br. Mus.; 1232 in Segreye, Segrey Ch. R; 1258 Segre C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 Segre FA.

The etymology is obscure.

Sedgehill SW of Hindon.

1398 Seggehull Cal. Inq.; 1493 Seggehill C. Inq.

The first element most probably refers to the plant-name sedge, the assumption of an OE p. n. *Secza being hardly justified.

Seend W of Devizes.

1203 Sendes Rot. Ch., Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1269 Sende C. Inq.; 1282 Sende ib.; 1286 in Sende Ch. R; 1316, 1402, 1428 de Sende FA.

This is no doubt the same word as is contained in the local art Sendan CS no. 1063 (according to Birch = Send, Surrey), perhaps also the same as the first element in senthylle ib. no. 216, and †senet riege ib. no. 1282, p. 587. It seems not impossible that Middendorff, p. 115, is correct in assuming that we have in this word an English equivalent of the 'oberdeutsch' sente (= Viehof, Vieherei)², but it is curious that there

¹ See Stokes, p. 289, and Holder II, p. 1272.

² On the other hand it is quite impossible to see why Middendorff at the same time connects this word with German Sende (= Binse), as this word was semida in OHG.

are no other traces of the word, not even in the English dialects.

Semington NE of Trowbridge.

1470 Semington Br. Mus.

Originally *Seminga (or *Seman) tūn. An OE p. n. *Sema is certainly to be connected with the Scand. Sæmingr, Semingr (see Lind). Cf. †Semes lod CS no. 125, and next name.

Semley NE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

955 †on Semeleage CS no. 917; c. 1190 Semele Macray; Edw. I Semeligh' Rot. H; 1316 de Semeleghe FA; 1428 Semele ib.

*æt Seman lēaze. For *Sema see preceding name.

Sevenhampton [called 'Sennington'] SSE of Highworth. Hen. III Sevehampton Cat. A. D.; 1262 Sevenhampton C. Inq.; 1276 Sevehampton Ch. R.; Sevenht., Sevehampton Br Mus.; 13th cent. Suvenhantone Liber rub.; 1313 Sevenehampton Pat. R; 1316 Sevenhampton FA; 1330 Senhampton Pat. R.

'The seven homesteads'. The loss of the original plur. s may be due partly to the early weakening of the first element, owing to which its meaning has been forgotten, and partly to the influence of the singular -hampton in other pl. ns. Sevenhampton, Glos., is also called 'Sennington'; for this contraction cf. sennight. For the u-vowel in the Liber rub. form, see under Bemerton.

Note. It is very uncertain whether †Seofonhæmtune CD no. 767 and †Seofenempton ib no. 1324 refer to this place.

Shalbourne [$\int \alpha lb \partial(r)n$, $\int \partial lb \partial(r)n$] SSW of Hungerford (Berks.).

1086 Scaldeburne (three times), Saldeborne DB; 1242 Scaudebrne R. fin. exc.; 1253 Schaldesburne Pat. R; c. 1290 Schal-10 E. Ekblom deborn T. Eccl.; 1329 Westshaldebourne C. Inq.; 1375 Chaldebourne Cl. R; 1428 Shaldebourne FA; 1493 Shalburne C. Inq.; c. 1540 Chauburne Leland.

Originally *æt (þæm, þære) scealdan burnan (*æt þære sc. burne), viz. the little affluent of the r. Kennet which passes here. For OE *sceald (NE shoal), which is only recorded in pl. ns, see Stevenson, Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 1895—98, p. 532, and NED (under 'shoal')¹. ch for sh in two of the forms above is merely orthographic (see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.); cf. Chaw, Charnton, Cherston (= Shaw, Sherrington, Sherston, below).

Note. (on) Scealdeburnan CD nos. 598, 600, 1082, 1084 was most probably in Soms. and not identical with Shalbourne, Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index. The same error is made by Birch, CS no. 611.

Shaw NW of Melksham.

1166 Schaga Pipe R (prob. identical); 1199 in Saghe Rot. Cur. (prob. ident.); 1285 Shaghe Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1370 Chaw Cal. inq. da.; 1428 in Shawe FA; 1495 in Shawe C. Inq. OE sceaza (= shaw, copse).

Sherrington SE of Heytesbury.

968 †Schearntune Reg. Wilt.; 1086 Scarentone (twice) DB; 1130—35 Serenton Osmund; 1166 de Sherinton Pipe R; 1247 Sernton C. Inq.; 1252 Sherinton Pat. R; 1281 Sherton Ch. R; c. 1290 de Schertone T. Eccl.; 1299 Scharnton Pat. R; 1316 Sharenton FA; 1324 Schrynton ib.; 1327 Sherntone C. Inq.; 1337 Sharneton R. Pat., Pat. R; 1375 Charnton Cal. Inq.; 1413 Sherrinyton Br. Mus.; 1428 Sharrenton, Schernton FA.

Originally *scearn-tūn; OE scearn = 'dung', 'filth'. Cf. Scearndæn CD no. 518, Scearnden ib. no. 700, æt Scearn-

¹ Middendorff's explanation of the element in question (p. 111) seems quite absurd. Note also Searle's incorrect assumption of a p. n. *Scealda.

forda ib. nos. 710, 1298. The later insertion of -ing- is due to analogy with those pl. ns that contain the patronymic -ing.

Sherston WSW of Malmesbury.

[1016] at Sceorstane AS Chr. [E], at Scor[s]tane ib. [D] [perhaps identical]; 1086 Sorestone (or = Sherston Parva), Sorstain? DB; 1167 Scorestan Pipe R; c. 1200 Sorestan Osmund; 1204 Sorestan R. Pat., de Sorestan R. L. Cl.; c. 1207 Sorestane Br. Mus.; 1227 Schorestan Osmund; 1237 Shorestan Ch. R; Schorestan Pat. R; 1240, 1247 Shorestan Ch. R; 1248 Sherestan ib.; 1252 Schorstan ib.; 1280 Sherston Magna Pat. R; Edw. I in Sereston' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 Scherston T. Eccl.; 1316 Sherston FA; 1334 Sherston C. Inq.; 1337 Sharston R. Pat.; Magna Cherston Pat. R; 1338 Sharston ib.; 1340 Magna Sherstan ib.; Shareston R. Pat.; 1428 Sherston FA.

It is obvious that the termination of this name was OE $st\bar{a}n$. The first element I am inclined to think is the same word as NE shore. This is certainly not recorded as an independent word till the 14th cent., but is found in pl. ns as early as the 11th cent.: Shoreham, Sussex, occurs as Sorham Cal. France A. D. 1073, and as Sore(s)hā DB; Shorwell, Isle of Wight, as Sorewelle DB. In the case of the Sussex name it is evident that the first element denotes 'sea-shore', and this may also have been the case with Shorwell (although this place at the present day is situated at a distance of 2 miles from the coast). But it seems also to be a fact that the element in question occurs in names of places situated far inland: Shoreditch SSE of Taunton, Soms., Shoreham N of Sevenoaks, Kent, Shore, near Rochdale, Lancs., and the name under notice. Judging from these names, it would seem as if shore might originally have denoted not only border between land and water' but also 'border between two different territories'; (cf. the significance of OE $\bar{o}ra$). This explanation is specially suitable in the case of *Sherston* on account of its situation near the borders of Glos. *Sherston* may consequently have meant 'boundary-stone'.

The change of o > e in the first syllable, which did not take place until the change of -stan > -ston, is most probably to be considered as a dissimilatory process.

Note. McClure's explanation, p. 286, foot-note II, that the first element represents OE scear, the name consequently denoting 'a stone with a sharp edge' is impossible. If this was the case, how is the o vowel to be explained?

Sherston Parva or Pinkney near Sherston.

1316, 1428 Sherston Parva FA.

'Pinkney', according to Bardsley an AN family name, refers to Ralph de Pinkeny, who held lands here in the 13th cent.; see Jones, p. 232.

Shorncote NW of Cricklade.

1086 Schernecote DB; 1234 de Sernekote Cl. R; 1268 Sernekote C. Inq.; c. 1290 de Cernecote T. Eccl.; 1316 de Cernecote FA; 1334 Cornecote C. Inq.; 1397 Sharnecote Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1428 Cernecote, in Shernecote FA.

Zachrisson, p. 159, who gives this name as an example of the change of tf > f, due to French influence, suggests that it may be derived from the River 'Churn' (like Cirencester, Glos.). The present situation of the place is certainly about a mile from this river, but it is probable, however, that Zachrisson's view is correct. 'Churn' is of course a Celtic name (see Baddeley, pp. 38, 42).

Shrewton WNW of Amesbury.

1236 Winterburn Shyreveton Ch. R; Winterburne Sireveton Cal. Rot. Ch.; Edw. I in Schreveton' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 Schirreneston T. Eccl. (n mistake for r); 1302 Wyntreburn Shirveton Pat. R; 1310 Sherrevetone, Wynterborn Sherretone

C. Inq.; 1316 Shereveton FA; 1322 Wynterbourn SchireuetonC. Inq.; 1428 Shereveton FA.

Originally *scīrzerēfan tūn. For scīrzerēfa (sheriff) see NED. The distinctive name refers to the affluent of the Wiley that passes here (see Winterbourne Stoke, below).

Slaughterford NW of Corsham.

1175 Slachtoneford Pipe R; c. 1290 Slahteford, Slahtereford T. Eccl.; 1298 Slaghteneford Cl. R; 1299 Slaghtenford Pat. R; 1300 Slaghtenford ib.; 1316 Slaghterford FA; Edw. III Sla(u)ghtenford NI; 1428 Slaghtreford FA.

According to Camden, p. 103, tradition has connected this name with a great slaughter of the Danes which was supposed to have taken place here. Stevenson, who takes the opportunity of discussing the etymology of this name in his edition of Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 275 f., clearly proves, however, that it has nothing to do with the subst. 'slaughter' and consequently that the tradition has no foundation. Stevenson suggests, on the other hand, an etymology which seems very probable. On account of the forms with the first element in -n (which occur too frequently to be merely orthographical mistakes) he derives this element from OE slāh-porn (= sloethorn). Cf. Slaughter and Slaughterford, Glos., which are analogous; (see the old forms quoted by Baddeley).

Smithcot W of Wootton Bassett.

1086 Smitecote DB; early 14th cent. Smithcot, Smethecote, in Smezecote TN; 1428 in Smethecote FA; 1536 to Smethcote Br. Mus.

Originally *smippe-cot(e) or perhaps *smipes cot(e). OE smippe = `smithy'. As to t for th in the DB form, see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. The change of i > e is discussed under Biddestone, above.

Somerford, Great and Little SE of Malmesbury.

683 Sumerford CS no. 65; 931 Sumerford ib. no. 671; 956 †somerford ib. no. 922; 1065 Sumerford CD no. 817; 1086

Sumreford, in Somreforde DB; 1232 Sumerford Ch. R; 1252 Somerford Maudut Cal. Rot. Ch. (= Little S.); 1254 Sumerford Maudut Pat. R; 1333 Somerford Mauduyt Br. Mus.; 1428 Somerford Magna, Parva FA.

The name indicates that the Avon at this place was only fordable in summer. 'Mauduit' (Maldoit) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 338. For further information see Jones, p. 235.

Note. Sumerford CD no. 714 and \dagger (to) Sumæres forda ib. no. 1093 were not in Wilts. although Kemble states that they were. The former may be Somerford Keynes, Glos., and the latter was situated in Surrey or Hants.

Sopworth W of Sherston.

1086 Sopeworde DB; 1252 Shopwurth Ch. R (corrupt); Edw. I de Suppeworth' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 Soppewrth, Soppeworth T. Eccl.; 1316 de Soppeworthe FA; 1318 Soppeworth Ch. R; 1428 Soppeworth FA.

From *Soppan weorp. The first element is obviously the same p. n. as occurs in the local Soppanbyrig CS no. 582. A corresponding German Soppo is recorded by Searle. Cf. Sopwell, Herts. (see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Herts., p. 53) and Sopley, Hants. (1086 Sopelie DB, 1262, 1274 Soppele, C. Inq.). As to d for th in the DB form, see Stolze § 38.

Southbroom St. James adjoining Devizes.

1227 Suthbrome Macray; Suthbrun Ch. R (corrupt); 1231 Suthbrum Pat. R; 1308 Suthbrom Br. Mus.; 1491 in South Brome.

The second element is OE $br\bar{o}m$. 'St. James' is the name of a church.

Southwick SW of Trowbridge.

Hen. III Southwick Br. Mus.; 1322 (of) Sothewyke Ch. R. For wick (OE wic) see under Berwick (Bassett).

Standen NE of Ludgershall.

1086 Standene DB (identical according to Jones); 1249 Standen Ch. R; 1327 Staundene Cal. Inq.

Originally *stān-dene (denu). For Staunden see Zachrisson § 9.

Note. Standene CD nos. 133, 430, ;Staunden ib. no. 520 p. 417, and Standene ib. no. 1235 were obviously not situated in Wilts., as Kemble assumes. The first of these seems, however, to be identical with North Standen, (Berks.) near the Wilts. border.

Standlynch SSE of Salisbury.

Edw. I Stanling' Rot. H; 1361 Stallynch Br. Mus.; 1388 Stanlynch ib.; 1403 Stanlynch Phillipps' fines.

Originally *stān-hline. OE hline = 'rising ground', 'ridge'. For the inorganic d in the mod. form cf. Horn § 185.

Stanton Fitzwarren SW of Highworth.

1086 Stantone DB 74 a; c. 1290 Staunton T. Eccl.; 1316 Staunton FA.

Originally *stān-tūn, which may have denoted 'an enclosure fenced in by stones' as well as 'an encl. on stony ground'. 'Fitzwarren' is an AN family name.

Stanton St. Bernard E of Devizes.

903 Stantun ¹ CS no. 600; 957 Stantun ¹ ib. no. 998; 960 Stantun ¹ ib. no. 1053; 1086 Stantone DB 67 d; 1267 de Stantone Macray; c. 1290 Staunton T. Eccl.

'St. Bernard' is a family name.

¹ The identity is not quite certain but may be assumed on account of the fact that 'Wodnes die' is mentioned among the boundaries. The statement in Birch's CS that they represent S. Fitzwarren is, however, quite incorrect.

Stanton St. Quintin NNW of Chippenham.

1086 Stantone DB 72 d; 1286 Stanton St. Quintin Ch. R; c. 1290 Staunton T. Eccl.; 1428 Staunton (Sancti Quintini) FA. 'St. Quintin' is an AN family name.

Stapleford NNW of Wilton.

1086 Stapleford DB; c. 1115 Stapleford Osmund; 1139? Stapleford Macray; 1239, 1322 Stapleford Ch. R; 1428 Stapleford FA.

The first element is WS stapol = 'a post', 'a pillar' (probably erected here to indicate the shallow place in the stream).

Staverton [stavo(r)t'n] N of Trowbridge.

1086 Stavretone DB; c. 1540 Stavertun Leland.

This name is most probably to be derived from *stæfera (or *stæferes) tūn, OE *stæfere being a nomen agentis from stæf (= letter, character), consequently meaning 'a scribe' (cf. bocere). Cf. Staverton, Northants., which occurs as †(to) stæfer tune CS no. 792, p. 542, Staverton, Glos.¹, and Starton, Warws.¹

Steeple Ashton E of Trowbridge.

880-885 æt Æsctune, †de Asck(e)tune CS nos. 553-55 [prob. identical]; 1086 Aistone DB; c. 1290 de Hastone, Astone T. Eccl.; 1316 Asshton FA; Edw. III Stepell Asschton NI; 1470 Stepulasshton Br. Mus.; 1485 Stepul Aisshton C. Inq.

The original name, which also indicated the neighbouring Rood Ashton and West Ashton, seems, on account of the first CS form above, to have been $asc-t\bar{u}n$ (OE asc=ashtree). sck for s(c)h (in CS) is, no doubt, merely orthographic.

¹ See the old forms given in Baddeley, p. 146, and Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws., p. 106. The explanations given by these scholars seem, on the contrary, far from convincing.

Note. Birch's identification of †Ashtone CS no. 1127 with this place is very doubtful, for the boundaries given do not point to this. There is just as little reason for identifying †Ascesdune CD 246, †Aysshedoune ib. no. 415, and †æs dúne ib. no. 446 with any of the present Ashtons in Wilts., though Kemble does so.

Steeple Langford NW of Wilton.

957 †on langan ford CS no. 992; 963 æt langanforda ib. no. 783; 1086 Langeford ¹; 1256 Langeford C. Inq.; c. 1290 Langeford Magna T. Eccl.; 1294 Stepel Langeford Pat. R; 1309 Stupellangeford C. Inq.; 1316 Steppul Langford FA.

The original name also refers to the adjoining Hanging L. and L. Little (see above).

Note. There seems no reason for locating $\dagger Lange for th$ CS no. 901 in Wilts., as Birch does.

Stert SE of Devizes.

1086 Sterte DB; 1269 Sterte C. Inq.; 1311 Steurte Pat. R; 1313 Steorte Cl. R; 1315 (of) Sterte Ch. R; 1326 of Sturte Fine R; 1330 Steorte R. Pat.; 1333 Sturt Cl. R; 1342 Sturte Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1402 in Steerte FA; 1428 in Sterte ib.

OE steort (= tail; projecting point). Stert is situated on the greensand in the Pewsey valley below the escarpment of the chalk-downs, and, as is often the case in the greensand districts, projecting spits or points beside deep, narrow valleys are found here. It is evident that such a spit must have given the present place its name. For ME u representing OE eo see under Bemerton. The mod. spelling is archaic.

Stitchcombe E of Marlborough.

1086 Stotecome DB; 1216 de Stotecumbe R. L. Cl.; 1227 Stutescumb' Cl. R; Edw. I de Studescombe Rot. H; 1316 de

¹ There are three *Langefords* in the hundr. of Branche mentioned in DB (fol. 68 a, 68 d, and 72 a) each probably referring to one of the three mod. Langfords here (Hanging L., Little L., and Steeple L.).

Stutescombe FA; 1414 Stotescombe Phillipps' fines; 1424 of Stotescombe Cat. A. D.

We may assume an original *Stutan cumb, *Stuta being probably a hypocoristic form of some compound p. n. with Stut- as the first member, of which *Stutheard and *Stuthere seem to have existed, judging from the local †(to) stutardes cumbe CS no. 814 and †(on) stuteres hylle ib. nos. 179, 628, 905. Cf. also †stuting CD no. 773 (= Stowting, Kent?). The late change of Stut(e)s- Stitch- must be due to popular etymology. It is interesting to notice a similar development in another name: Stu(t)chbury, Northants. (early 13th cent. Stutesbyr Br. Mus., c. 1230 Stotesbur ib.). For the absence of b in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Stockley S of Calne.

1335 Stokkele Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1445 Stockley Cal. Rot. Ch.; [n. d.] of Stockeleghe Cat. A. D.

* $at [p\bar{a}m, p\bar{a}re] stoc(c)-l\bar{e}aze$ (probably = 'a meadow with stumps of felled trees').

Stockton SE of Heytesbury.

1086 Stottune DB; 1130—35 Stoctun Osmund; 1189 Stocton Br. Mus.; 1284 Stocton Ch. R; c. 1290 de Stottone T. Eccl.; 1316 Stokton FA.

OE *stoc(c)- $t\bar{u}n$ (probably = 'an enclosure fenced in with stocks or posts'). t for c in two of the forms above is an error (due to the similarity of these letters).

Stoford [$stouf_{\partial}(r)d$] N of Wilton.

1284 Stoford C. Inq.; 1352 Stouford Cl. R; 1453 Stofford Cal. Inq.; 1559 Stovorde Br. Mus.

Probably from * $st\bar{o}w$ -ford; OE $st\bar{o}w$ = 'place', 'dwelling', 'house'. Cf. Stowford, below.

Stoke Farthing E of Broad Chalk.

c. 1190 Stokes Macray (prob. identical); 1258 Stokes Ch. R;

1273 Stok C. Inq.; 1316 Stoke Verdon ib.; 1316 de Stoke FA; 1428 in Stoke Verdon ib.

* αt [$p\bar{\alpha}m$] stoce [stocum? 1]; see under Baverstock. 'Farthing' is nothing but a corruption of the French surname 'Verdon'.

Stokke [stok] near Gr. Bedwyn.

1230—40 Stok, de Stoke Macray; 1312 Stokke Cal. Inq.; 1335 Stocke C. Inq.; 1360 La Stoke Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Stokke FA.

OE stoc = 'place'. Stokke is an orthographic contamination of *Stock (< OE stoc) and Stoke (< OE et stoce).

Note. (æt) Stoce CS no. 611, CD nos. 1082, 1084 is certainly not identical with this place, as is stated by Birch and Kemble, but was probably situated in Soms.

Stonehenge [stounhentf].

12th cent. Stanhenges Luard, Ann.; Stanenges Henry of Huntingdon.

Stonehenge, the extensive group of megalithic stones on Salisbury Plain, W of Amesbury, is, no doubt, derived from OE *stān-hencza (plur.). OE *hencz f. (< prim. Germ. *hangjā-; cognate with hangian) is ME heng(e), NE hinge (cf. MLG henge f.). In order to explain the meaning of the name it is necessary to state that the so-called outer circle at Stonehenge consists of standing stones upon which other blocks of stone are laid horizontally 2. The original *stān-hencza may therefore refer to these horizontal stones which appear to 'hang' on the others. For the date of Stonehenge see Guest, p. 212 ff.

¹ The plural forms in Macray and Ch. R. may of course equally probably have originated in ME.

² Originally there were 30 upright stones and as many horizontal ones; at the present day, there are only 17 of the former and 6 of the latter left.

Stourton [star(r)t'n] NW of Mere.

1086 Stortone DB (prob. identical); 1199 de Sturton R. Oblat.; 1255 Storton Pat. R; 1291 Sturton C. Inq.; 1299 Stourton Cal. Inq.; 1315 Stourtone C. Inq.; 1428 Stourton FA; c. 1540 Stourtoun Leland.

The place has got its name from the River Stour, which rises in this neighbourhood 1. Stour is a Celtic name 2.

Stowell NW of Pewsey.

1300 Stowelle Ch. R.

Probably from OE * $st\bar{o}w$ -wyll(e). OE $st\bar{o}w$ = 'place', 'dwelling', 'house'.

Stowford SW of Bradford.

1458 Stowford Br. Mus.

See Stoford, above.

Stratford sub Castle NW of Salisbury.

1091 Stratford Osmund; 1316 de Stratforde FA; 1485 Stratford (-under-the-Castle-of-Old-Sarum) C. Inq.

OE *strāt-ford. Two Roman roads crossed the Avon here: the road running south-west to Dorchester and Eggardon Hill, and the road west towards the Bristol Channel³. The village is situated at the foot of the hill on which the fortified Castle of Old Sarum was situated.

Stratford Toney SW of Salisbury.

670 †Stretford CS no. 27; 826 †Stretford ib. no. 391; 905 †Stretford ib. no. 690; 948 †Stretford ib. no. 863; 961 †Stretford ib. no. 1071; 986 †Stretford CD no. 655; 997 †Stretford ib. no. 698; 1086 Stradford DB; 1309 Stretford C. Inq.; 1315 Stratford Tony, 1316 de Stratforde FA.

¹ Leland says about this place (part X): 'The ryver of Stoure riseth there of 6 fountaines or springs'.

² That the river name in question should have been introduced from the Continent, as is assumed by Jellinghaus, p. 333, seems most improbable.

³ See Guest., p. 218 ff. [The four Roman ways.]

OE *strāt-ford. The Roman road between Old Sarum and Dorchester crossed the r. Ebble at this place. For Stradford cf. Bredford (Britford). For the distinctive name see Newton Toney, above.

Note. †Stréteford CD no. 398, †Stretforde ib. no. 460, and †Strædford ib. no. 571 were obviously not identical with this place (as is stated by Kemble). The two former were situated in the NW corner of Wilts. (or perhaps in Glos. near the Wilts. border), the latter near the r. Kennet (between Marlborough and Avebury).

Stratton St. Margaret NE of Swindon. Stratton, Upper adjoining the above.

1086 Stratone DB; 1279 Netherestratton, Overestratton Cat. A. D.; 1304 Overe Stratton Cal. Inq.; 1316 Stratton Inferior, Stratton Superior FA; 1427 Stretton sanct' Margaret' Cal. Rot. Ch.

OE *stræt-tūn. The places are situated on the ancient Roman road which passed between the ancient Cunetio (near Marlborough) and Circnester (Glos.). 'St. Margaret' is the name of a church.

Studley W of Calne.

1194 Stodleia Rot. Cur.; 1232 Stodleg Ch. R; 1240 de Stodlege Macray.

Originally *et [$p\bar{e}m$, $p\bar{e}re$] $st\bar{o}d$ - $l\bar{e}aze$; OE $st\bar{o}d$ = 'stud', 'herd of horses'.

Surrendell SW of Malmesbury.

1086 Sirendone DB [prob. identical]; 1316 Suryndene FA; 1330—35 Cyrendene Br. Mus.; 1428 Serenden FA; 1567 Sorenden Br. Mus.

The first element may have contained a p. n. *Syra, probably the same as occurs in Sirintone (Sussex) DB, Sirestun (Notts.) ib., and mod. Syresham (Northants.) [1284 Siresham FA]. Judging from the present situation of the place, the termination seems to have been denu (dene). The change of the final n into l was a dissimilatory process.

Sutton Benger NNE of Chippenham.

854 † at Suttune CS no. 470; at Subtune Thorpe; 956 † de Suttone CS no. 922 (possibly identical); 1065 † Suttuna CD no. 817; c. 1290 Suttone T. Eccl.; 1316 de Sottone FA; 1377 Sudeton Berenger R. Pat.; 1488 Sutton Benger C. Inq.

OE sub- $t\bar{u}n$. 'Benger' is a contraction of the French 'Berenger'.

Note. $Su\delta t\bar{u}n$ CD no. 319 was in Dors. (not in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index).

Sutton Mandeville SE of Hindon.

1086 Sudtone DB 72 b (identical according to Jones); 1275 Sutton (Maundevyle) C. Inq. 1428 Sutton (Maundevyle) FA. See above. 'Mandeville' is an AN family name. See Jones, p. 234.

Sutton Veny near Heytesbury.

1086 Sutone, in Sudtone DB 72 b, 73 b; 1225 Magna Sutton Pat. R; c. 1290 Fenni Sutton T. Eccl.; 1298 Great Sutton Ch. R; 1316 Fenny Sutton C. Inq.; 1341 Fenny-sutton Br. Mus.

See above. According to Bardsley, Fenny is a native family name. The use of v initially in place of f (just as z for s) is, according to Ellis, p. 38, one of the most conspicuous features of the western Mid Southern dialect. (Cf. Vasterne, Zeals, below).

Swallowcliffe SE of Hindon.

940 Swealewanclif, to Swealewanclife CS no. 756; 1086 Svaloclive (three times) DB; 1150—60, 1220 de Swaleweclive Osmund; 1275 of Swalklyfe, Swaluweclive C. Inq.; 1288—92? in Sualwecliffe Br. Mus.; c. 1290 de Swaluclive T. Eccl.; 1339 Swalclyff Pat. R; 1428 in Swaluclyve, de Swaluclyffe FA.

'The swallow-cliff'. Björkman, Pers. I, p. 134, gives a Scand. p. n. Sualeua, but there is no reason to assume a

p. n. here. Cf. Swaleliffe, Oxfs. (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.), and Swalecliffe, Kent, both of the same origin.

Note. Whether (æt) Swalewanclife CS no. 874 (CD no. 1176) was situated in Wilts., it is impossible to say. In CS it is given as identical with Swalecliffe, Kent, in CD with Swallow-cliffe, Wilts.

Swindon.

1086 Svindune, (iħ) Svindone DB; 1205 de Swinedoñ R. L. Cl.; 1252 Swindon Ch. R; Edw. I in (Alta) Swunden' Rot. H; 1302 Hauteswyndon Rot. Orig.; 1304 (juxta) Altam Swyndon Cal. Inq.; 1323 Swyndon Valence C. Inq.; 1324 Swyndon Valence Fine R; Heghe Swyndon FA; 1386 Hiswyndon Cal. Inq.; 1488 Hi Swynden C. Inq.; 1495 Thevyn Swyndon ib.

Originally *swīn(a) dun. The old forms above obviously refer to different parts of the place. 'Valence' is a French surname. For further information about it see Jones, p. 235.

Tedworth or Tidworth, North SW of Ludgershall.

1086 Todew(o)rde (three times) DB; 1178? Thudewrda Johannis Marescalli, T. Hogonis de Lacy Br. Mus.; 1199 de Thodeswrth Hug de Lasci, Thowrtha Johis Maresc Rot. Ch.; 1205 Tudeword, Thudeswrth R. Oblat.; early 13th cent. Tudeworth Br. Mus.; 1227 Tudewurth Ch. R; 1232 Tudeworth ib.; 1234 de Tuddewurth' Cl. R; 1270 Tudeworda Johannis Marescalli, T. Hugonis de Lacy Ch. R; 1278 Northtudewrthe C. Inq.; 1289 Todeworth ib.; 1314 Northtodeworth ib.; 1316 de Tudeworthe FA; 1324 Todeworth Melewys Pat. R; 1428 Tudeworth FA.

In the case of this name it seems necessary to assume two original variants: $*Tud(d)an \ weorp$ (represented by the many ME forms with o in the first syllable) and *Tyd(d)an weorp (which has survived). *Tyd(d)a is to be explained as formed from *Tyd(d)ing, the patronymic of Tud(d)a (for

^{1 =} The even.

this p. n. see Müller, p. 60). Cf. the discussion of the first elements of Durrington, Lydiard, Patney, above. The mod. Ted- is due to the influence of a dialectal tendency to change i > e (see under Biddestone).

Of the distinctive family-names 'Melewys' (Melhuish) is native, the others are AN. See also Jones, p. 237.

Teffont Evias or Ewyas W of Wilton.

860 †be Tefunte CS no. 500; [940 †teofuntinga gemære ib. no. 757]; 964 †at Teofunten, †ad Teofontem ib. no. 1138 [perhaps identical]; c. 1290 Teffunte T. Eccl.; 1292 de Tefhunte Pat. R; 1316 de Teffunte FA; 1335 Teffonte Ewyas C. Inq.; 1374 Tefent Br. Mus.; 1428 in Teffonte Ewyas. Tevent FA; 1493 Over Teffent C. Inq. (= T. Magna).

I derive this name from *Tēowan font (funt), *Tēowa being a hypocoristic form of such a name as e. g. *Tēowald (Tiunald, Tionald, see Müller, p. 85). Cf. the local †teone lege, †teofe leage CS no. 204, (†)teowes porne ib. no. 279 (the latter prob. in Wilts., near Purton). OE font (*funt) = 'fountain', 'well'. In the earliest ME, the w has been assimilated to the following f, and the long vowel has normally been shortened before two consonantal sounds.

For the distinctive name, see Jones, p. 79, foot-note.

Thickwood W of Chippenham.

1086 Ticoode DB; c. 1460 Thikwode Cal. Rot. Ch.; [n. d.] Thicwode, pycwode Reg. Malm.; 1540 Thychewood Dugdale.

The sense is clear. As to the AN substitution of t for initial p, see Zachrisson § 2.

Throope near Stratford Toney.

1328 Throp, Thorp C. Inq.; 1428 Le Throp FA.
Originally *et pām prope. The mod. spelling is archaic.

Tidcombe SE of Burbage.

1086 Titicome DB (prob. identical); early Hen. III Tydecumbe Br. Mus.; 1230—40 Tydecomb Macray; 1252 de Titecumbe Ch. R; 1285 Tidecombe C. Inq.; 1298 of Tytecumbe Ch. R; 1315 Tidecomb C. Inq.; 1316 de Tydecombe FA; 1339 Tidecombe Huse Pat. R; 1428 de Tydecombe FA; 1489 of Tyteombe C. Inq.

From *Tidan cumb (*et Tidan cumbe). Tida is certainly a shortened form of some name beginning with Tid-, of which there are a great number. As to t for d in the DB form, see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvet., p. 8 f. The t in the other forms is due to assimilation with c (e having been syncopated). The distinctive 'Huse' stands for 'Hus(s)ey', according to Bardsley an AN family name. In the time of Edw. I the manor was held by Hubert Hussey (Rot. H. II, p. 260).

Note. *Tiddancumb* CD no. 1216 cannot possibly be identical with this place, as is suggested by Kemble.

Tidworth see Tedworth.

Tilshead on Salisbury Plain.

1086 Theodulveside, in Tidulfhide (four times) DB; 1167 Tidolfeshida Pipe R; c. 1185 Teolvesia Cal. France; c. 1190 Tidolveshyde Macray; 1225 de Tydulveshide, de Thidulveshide Pat. R; 1238 Tidelveshid ib.; 1246 Teovelsia Ch. R; Edw. I Tydolvesheved, de Tydelvesyde, de Thidelfhyde Plac. Warr.; early 14th cent. Thidulfhide, Tidulfeshid (several times) TN; 1397 Tileshed, Tileshide Cal. Inq.; 1428 in Tydelsyde, de Tydolveshyde FA; 1450 Tydelsyde Cal. Inq.; 1492 in Tydelvessyde C. Inq.

Originally *Tidwulfes hīd (see Fifield). Theodulveside (DB) and Teolvesia (Ch. R) display confusion with the p. n. Theodulf (see on this point Zachrisson, p. 46, foot-note). On the interchange between t and th see Zachrisson, p. 47 f. The termination has, after weakening, been changed into -head through popular etymology; (cf. Fifield).

11 E. Ekblom

Tinhead NE of Westbury.

1240—45 de Tynhide, de Tunhide Macray; 1249 Tynnehid Pat. R; 1250 Tinehid ib.; 1280 de Teenhide Ch. R; 1316 de Tenhyde FA; 1402 de Tynhide ib.

Originally * $t\bar{i}en$ ($t\bar{y}n$) $h\bar{i}da$; cf. Fifield. For the development of the second element cf. preceding name.

Tisbury SE of Hindon.

759 †Tissebiri CS no. 186 [prob. identical]; 901—924 †to Tysse byrig ib. no. 591; 984 †æt Tissebiri CD no. 641; 1086 Tisseberie DB; c. 1200 de Tissiberie Osmund; 1225 Tyssebury ib.; 1316 Tyssebury FA; 1332 Tisbury Br. Mus.; 1333, 1413 Tyssebury ib.; 1428 Tissebury FA.

Originally *et Tis(s)an byriz. *Tis(s)a is certainly not recorded as an independent p. n. but its existence is nevertheless certain. A patronymic of the name is found in Tissington, Derbs.; see Walker, p. 250. Tiso, its Continental equivalent, is recorded in Förstemann, Pers. 411.

Tockenham SW of Wootton Bassett.

854 †Tockenham CS no. 481 (Toccanham CD); 1086 Tochcham (five times) DB; 1194 Tokhā Rot. Cur.; 1202 Thokenham Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1290 Tokh̃m T. Eccl.; 1300 Tockenham Ch. R; 1316 Tokkenham FA; 1415 Tokenham Br. Mus.; 1424 Tokingham Cal. Inq.; 1428 Tokham, Tokkenham FA.

Originally (*) Toc(e) an hăm. For the p. n(s) Tocca, Toca see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 142 f.

Tollard Royal SE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1086 Tollard (three times) DB; 1262 Tollard C. Inq.; 1316 de Tollarde FA; 1428 Tollard ib.

Probably from *Tolan eard (OE eard here = home, property). Tola is, according to Björkman. Pers. I p. 143 f., a p. n. of Scand. provenience (< Toli).

'Royal' refers to King John, who had a hunting-seat at this place (see Jones, p. 237).

Trowbridge.

1212 Troubruğ R. L. Pat.; 1214 Troubrigğ ib.; 1215 de Trobrigg R. L. Cl.; 1236 Troubrig Ch. R; 1250 de Trewbrigge Macray; 1310 Trebrigg C. Inq.; 1316 de Troubrigge FA; 1322 of Troubrigge Ch. R; 1394 de Troughbrigge Pat. R; c. 1540 Throughbridge, Thorough-bridge Leland.

OE *trēow-brycz ('wooden bridge'), with a shifting of stress in the OE diphthong. The corrupted forms in Leland are due to a misconception about the first element.

Trowle (Common) near Trowbridge.

1086 in Trole DB; early 14th cent. Trulle TN; 1349 Troll Br. Mus.; 1372 Troll Cal. Inq.; 1414 Troll ib.; 1478 Trell ib. The origin of this name is not clear.

Tytherington near Heytesbury.

1086 Tedrintone DB (prob. identical); c. 1140 Tyderinton Osmund; 1150—60 Tiderinton ib.; c. 1290 Tuderyngton T. Eccl.

From *Tidheringa $t\bar{u}n$; Tidhere is a p. n. occurring in LVD. For the NE change of d > th see Horn § 181.

Tytherton Kelways and Tytherton Lucas NE of Chippenham.

1086 Terintone (twice), Tedelintone? DB; 1194 Tidrinton Rot. Cur.; 1272 Tiderintun Cat. A. D.; 1316 de Tuderyntone FA; 1327 Tuderyngtone Calowey C. Inq.; 1428 Tuderyngton Caylewey, Tyderyngton FA; [n. d.] in T(h)ederingdone, de Thederingedone, Thederingdune, T(h)uderinton Reg. Malm.

From *Tīdheringa tūn; see preceding name. For the AN interchange of -ring and -ling see Zachrisson, p. 138 ff. On the initial th in the Reg. Malm. forms see ib., p. 47.

Adam Lucas and Elyas da Kaylewey¹ are mentioned as land-holders here in TN, pp. 137, 142.

¹ referring to the adjoining estate now called Kellaways.

Ugford W of Wilton.

956 (†)ucganford CS no. 1030 [cg representing gg]; [1045 †Uggafordinga landscore CD no. 778]; 1086 Ocheforde, Ogeforde DB; c. 1190 Uggeford Sancti Johannis Macray; 1195 Uggeford Feet of fines; 1227 Uggeford Ch. R; 1275 Hugeford C. Inq.; c. 1290 Hugeford T. Eccl.; 1327 Ugeford St. James C. Inq.; 1328 Uggeforde St. James ib.; 1428 Ogeford FA.

Originally (*)Uggan ford, *Ugga being, no doubt, identical with the Scand. p. n. Uggi. Cf. Ughill, W. R. of Yorks. (see Moorman) and Uggeshall, Suffolk (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 47). ch for g in one of the DB forms may be due to the influence of Ocheburne (mod. Ogbourne) occurring in DB four times.

The distinctive names refer to churches.

Upavon or Uphaven N of Enford.

1086 of Oppavrene DB; after 1142 Upavene Br. Mus.; 1172 Upeauena Pipe R; 1194 de Huphauen, de Uppawne Rot. Cur.; 1199 in Uphauen Feet of fines; 1226 Ophaven Osmund; 1240 de Up Aven' R. fin. exc.; 1316 de Uphavene FA; 1324 in Hupphavene ib.; 1337 Uppehavene Pat. R; 1428 in Uphavene FA.

Originally *at up-Afene (*at pēm uppan Afene?). For the initial h see Avon, Hacklestone, above. Zachrisson, p. 142, gives Oppavrene (DB) as an example of the AN change of n > r in pl. ns. It would, however, be more correct to say that the form in question has been written under de influence of Nigravre (= Netheravon), occurring on the preceding page in DB, for r in Opavrene is obviously not due to any substitution; (but Nigravre itself is of course an example of the change in question).

Uppington N of Stapleford. 1411 *Uppington* Br. Mus. Other pl. ns which are to be taken into consideration here are *Uppingham*, Rutland (1166 *Uppingehā* Pipe R, Edw. I *Uppingham* Rot. H, 1315 *Uppyngham* C. Inq.), *Uppington*, Salop (1342 *Upinton* C. Inq., 1352 *Opinton* ib.), and also †*upping hæma gemæra* CS no 1315.

Although it is impossible to prove that the -ing- element in these names is not genuine, yet there is a strong probability that it is not. It is much more probable that the element in question goes back to uppan, dat. of the adj. up(p) (= 'high-lying'), the original names being consequently $\dagger xt \ p\bar{x}m \ uppan \ t\bar{u}ne$, etc. with a later change of -an > -ing (a development quite analogous with that of the weak gen. -an > -ing; see Alexander, Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 70).

The same element is, no doubt, contained in the local on Uppan ufre CS no. 332.

Note. Middendorff's statement that pl. ns of this kind contain the OE preposition uppe, uppan is a strange mistake.

Upton WSW of Hindon.

1284 Upton Ch. R; 1402 Upton FA. OE *up- $t\bar{u}n$.

Upton Lovell SE of Heytesbury.

957 æt Ubban tune, [ubbantuninga gemære] CS no. 992; 1086 Uptone DB; 1130—35 Ubbeton Osmund; c. 1290 de Ubetone T. Eccl.; 1314 Ubeton C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 Ubeton FA; 1476 Ubbedon Lovell Cal. Inq.; 1489 Updon Lovell C. Inq.

The first element is the p. n. *Ubba*, a diminutive of which is concealed in *Ebbesborne* (see above). 'Lovel(l)' is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 338.

Upton Scudamore N of Warminster.

1086 Opetone DB; 1221 de Obetuñ R. L. Cl.; c. 1250? de Uptone Macray; 1267 Upton Escudemor Ch. R; 1316 Upton

FA; 1335 Upton Scydemor C. Inq.; 1428 Upton [Escudamor] FA.

Originally *up-tūn. The distinctive name (for which see Bardsley) refers to Peter de Skydemore, who was a landholder here in the time of Edw. I; see Rot. H. II, p. 277.

Urchfont or Erchfont SE of Devizes.

1086 Jerchesfonte DB; 1175 Erchesfonta Pipe R; 1179 de Archesfunte ib.; 1205 Erchesfont R. Oblat.; 1237 de Herchesfunt' Cl. R; Edw. I Urcheffont Rot. H; c. 1290 de Orchefunte T. Eccl.; 1291 in Ercheffunte Pat. R; 1292 in Erchesfunte Ch. R; early 14th cent. de Urichesfunte TN; 1314 Erchefont Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1316 de Erchesfonte FA; 1349 Erchesfonte Cal. Inq.; 1377 Lerchesfonte ib.; 1378—99 Erchesfont Br. Mus.; 1428 de Orcheffunte FA; 1546—48 Erchefount Br. Mus.

This name goes back to an original $*\overline{E}$ ardrices font (funt). *Eardric is certainly not on record, but its existence cannot be doubted when we consider the great productivity of Eard- in the formation of OE p. ns. The initial j in the DB form is due to change of stress in the OE diphthong (see on this point Zachrisson, p. 65 f., and Sievers § 212, note 2). How are we to account for the initial ME u- and o-vowels? It has been pointed out above that u in early ME may represent OE $\check{e}o$ (see under Bemerton). As, however, ME e is also a representative of the same diphthong (particularly before r + consonant, which is the position of e in the present name) confusion between e and u may easily have taken place. For a secondary u to be rendered in its turn by o is very common. The u in the mod. form must of course be explained in a different way, being due to the fact that ur and er have been levelled in pronunciation in NE. Mod. Erchfont is itself an archaic form. The initial l in Lerchesfonte (Cal. Ing.) represents the French article.

Vasterne [væstə(r)n] near Wootton Bassett.

1234 Fosterne Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1235 of Fasterne Ch. R; 1266 la Fosterne R. Pat.; 1280, 1290 La Fasterne C. Inq.; Edw. I de Wasturne Rot. H; 1299 Fasterne R. Pat.; 1300 (in) Fasterne Ch. R; 1331 La Fasterne ib.

Probably from *Fæstan ærn, *Fæsta being a pet-form of some name beginning with Fæst-, of which *Fæstred (occurring in DB as Fastradus, Ellis, Intr. II, p. 316) and *Fæstwulf (Fastulf, Fastolf) are on record. Note also fæstan falod CS no. 702, and fæstan āc CD no. 652. For the second element cf. Chitterne, Collerne, Potterne, above. On the transition of the initial f > v see under Sutton Veny. o in two of the ME forms quoted is, no doubt, a spelling mistake.

Wadswick SW of Corsham.

late 12th cent. Wadeswica Br. Mus.; 1226 Wadeswyke Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1288 Waddiswyke Dugdale.

Originally *Wades (or *Wadan) wīc; of the cognate p. ns. Wade and Wada, the weak form is the more common; see Müller, p. 62.

Walcot near Swindon.

1086 Walecote DB; early 14th cent. Walecot(e) TN; 1324 Wal(l)ecote FA.

Most probably from *Wealan cot(e), *Weala being a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with Wealh-, several of which are recorded. For the loss of h see Sievers § 218.

Warborough [wonboro] ESE of Swindon.

854 †æt Wenbeorgen, †æt Wenbeorgan, †Wenbergh, †to wænbeorgan CS nos. 477, 478; 1086 Wemberge DB; 1146 Wanberga Macray; c. 1180 Wamberga Osmund; 1194 de Wenbge Rot. Cur.; 1205 Wamberge Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1229 of Wamberge Ch. R; 1245 Wamberge Br. Mus.; 1252 of Wamberge Ch. R;

1285 Wanberg C. Inq.; Edw. I Wanberewe Abbr. Plac.; 1310 Wanberge, Wanbrogh C. Inq.; 1316 de Wanberghe FA; 1349 Wanberwe Cal. Inq.; 1354 Wenburgh Cl. R; 1374 Wanebergh ib.; 1428 Wanburgh FA.

By some scholars (among them Ch. Plummer) this place has been thought identical with Woddesbeorge, Wodnesbeorge (dat.) AS Chr. [A. D. 592 and 715]. From the old forms quoted above it is obvious, however, that this identity is impossible on linguistic grounds. It is true that there is a tendency among the Wilts. dialects to change o > a, but this transition is of a very late date (hardly older than the end of the 15th cent.); cf. Calcutt, Ratfyn, Wansdyke, Wraxhall. A circumstance which also militates against a derivation from Woden is the development of Wansdyke (see below). What the first element is it is difficult to say for it seems hardly to be Germanic; it may perhaps represent some p. n. [cf. Waningore DB (Sussex)]. The second element was OE beorh; see Brokenborough, above.

There is another Wanborough in Surrey, occurring in DB as Weneberge.

Wansdyke [wonzdaik].

903 wodnes die CS no. 600; 933 wodnes die ib. no. 699; 957 wodnes die ib. no. 998; 960 wodnes die ib. no. 1053; 970 Wodnes die ib. 1257; Hen. III Wodenesdick Dugdale; 1260 Wodenesdich Ch. R.

Wansdyke is an ancient British earthwork, originally extending from Andover, Hants., through Wilts., to the Bristol Channel at Portishead. As appears from the old forms above, the ditch has got its name from the god Woden. The mod. termination represents the OE dat. form. On the change of o > a see under Calcutt. The mod. pronunciation [won-] is a spelling pron.

It is interesting to notice that what is left of the same earthwork in Hants. (N of Andover) is called Wodensdyke.

Wardour SW of Tisbury.

901—924 æt Weard oran CS no. 591; 1086 in Werdore DB; 1314 Werdore C. Inq.; 1316 de Werdure FA; 1318 Weredore C. Inq.; 1392 Werdour R. Pat.; 1428 in Wardore FA.

Provided the form recorded in CS is genuine, the name is composed of the subst. weard (= watch) and $\bar{o}ra$ (= bank, viz. of the r. Nadder). Does the name refer to some lookout stations on the bank of the river during the early wars in Wessex? Cf. on Wearddune CS no. 1176, translated in Bosworth-Toller with 'beacon-hill'.

Warminster.

901—924 Worgemynter CS no. 591 (prob. ident.); 1086 Guerminstre DB; c. 1115 Werminister Osmund; 1174 de Werreministr Pipe R; 1222 Weremenestr. Osmund; 1226 Werministr. ib.; 1231 of Werministre Ch. R; 1259 de Wer(e)menistre Macray; Edw. I Wereministre Br. Mus.; 1316 de Weremynstre FA; 1320 de Wermunstr' Rot. Orig.; 1324 in Weremystre FA; 1402 de Wermestre ib.; 1428 de Wermynstre FA; 1471 Warmester Br. Mus.; 1496 Warmester, Wermester C. Inq.

The first element is the name of the little stream called 'the Were' that passes here and flows into the Wiley. Were [wio(r)] is, no doubt, a Celtic name. The termination is OE mynster = 'monastery'. The absence of n in some forms must be due to AN influence (OFrench moustier).

Water Eaton E of Cricklade.

1372 Watereton Cl. R; 1428 Eton FA.

OE *ēa-tūn (ēa referring to the Thames). The pleonastic 'Water' has been added to distinguish the place from 'Castle Eaton'.

Wedhampton (— ← —) SE of Devizes.

1349 Wedhampton Cal. Inq.; 1500 Wedhampton Br. Mus. Probably from *wēod-hām-tūn. OE wēod = 'weed'.

Wellow, West SE of Whiteparish.

c. 670 on welewe CS no. 27; 826 on welewe ib. no. 391; 880—85 at Welewe ib. no. 553 (possibly identical); 905 on welewe ib. no. 690; 948 on welewe ib. no. 862; early 14th cent. in Wilewe TN; 1316, 1428 in Welewe FA; 1493 in Wellowe C. Inq.

This name, which originally denoted the stream on which the village is situated (an affluent of the r. Test), is most probably pre-Germanic. There is another Wellow in Soms., obviously referred to in CD no. 643: æt Welewe (stoce), on welewe(heia).

Note. Kemble's location of *Ueluue* (flumen) CD no. 115 and (et) Welowe ib. no. 1105 seems to be merely a conjecture.

Westbrook NE of Melksham.

late Hen. II in Westebroche Br. Mus.; 1266 de Westebrok' R. fin. exc.

Originally *æt west-brōce (a little affluent of the Lower Avon).

Westbury.

1086 Westberie, Wesberie DB; c. 1115 Westbiri Osmund; c. 1145—50 Westberie Macray; 1227 Westbire ib.; 1229 Westbury Ch. R.

Westport St. Mary (Within and Wilhout).

1232 Westport Ch. R; 1251 Westport Cal. Rot. Ch.

'The west gate' (leading to the town of Malmesbury). One part of the present parish lies within the borough of Malmesbury.

Westrop (Park) near Highworth.

Edw. I in Westhropp' Rot. H; 1324 Westhorp FA; 1410 of Westhrope Br. Mus.

OE *west-porp (prop). See Eastrop, above.

Westwood SW of Bradford.

1086 Westwode DB (prob. identical); 1285 Westwod Ch. R; 1316 Westwode FA.

OE *west-wudu.

Wexcombe SE of Burbage.

1158 Westcūba Pipe R; 1167 Wexcūba ib.; 1172 Westcumba ib.; 1173 Wex Cumba ib.; 1231 de Wexcumb', de Westycumb' Cl. R; Hen. III de Westcumbe Rot. H; 1274 of Wexecumbe Cl. R; 1275 (of) Westcumbe Ch. R; 1288 de Woxecumbe Rot. Orig.; 1289 of Wexecumbe Fine R.; of Woxecumbe Pat. R; 1314 Wexcombe Ch. R; 1316 de Woxcombe FA; 1470 Westcombe Cal. Inq.; 1490 of Westcombe C. Inq.

Originally *west-cumb. After loss of t, metathesis of s and c has taken place (with retention, however, of the original termination). That this metathesis is of a dialectal nature has been pointed out in connection with Axford (above). o for e in the first syllable of a few forms is certainly merely orthographic.

Whaddon SE of Salisbury.

1086 (in) Watedene (twice) DB; 1109—20 Hwatedena Osmund; 1243 in Waddone Macray; 1272 Wadden(e) C. Inq.: Edw. I in Watdene Rot. H; 1290 Wadden Ch. R; early 14th cent. in Wat'den' TN; 1316 Whaddon FA; 1428 Whadden ib.

Obviously from *hwāt(e)-dene (denu); OE hwāte (= wheat) is found as a first element in several pl. ns. The a-vowel indicates absence or early loss of the final e of the first element in the OE form; (see Bergsten, p. 33).

Whaddon SW of Melksham.

1086 Wadone DB; 1253 Waddon C. Inq.; 1428 Whaddon FA. A comparison of the old forms of this and the preceding name indicates that the two names are of different origin, in spite of their conformity at the present day. The ter-

mination of the present name seems to have been $d\bar{u}_{II}$, and the first element one would be inclined to derive from OE $w\bar{u}d$ ('woad'), particularly as this plant-name occurs in several OE pl. ns (see Kemble's index).

Whitbourne W of Warminster.

1396 Whyteborne Cal. Inq.

Probably *at pām (pāre) hwītan burnan [*at pāre hwītan burna], referring to a little affluent of the r. Frome. The calcareous nature of the soil accounts for the name. There was also, however, an OE p. n. Hwīta (see Müller, p. 56), and the possibility of this p. n. being present in Whitbourne is naturally not excluded.

Whitcombe near Hilmarton.

1086 Widecome DB; 1291 de Wydecumbe Pat. R; 1316 de Wydecombe FA; 1324 Wydecombe Pat. R; 1428 in Wydecombe FA.

Originally *se wida cumb (the broad valley). The development is clear. For the absence of b in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Whiteparish SE of Salisbury.

1306 Whyteparisch Cal. Inq.; 1318 of Wyteparosche C. Inq.; 1324 of La Whiteparische Pat. R; 1487 White Parish C. Inq.

The parish is situated in the White Chalk district, and this explains its name.

Whitley NW of Melksham.

1001 †at Wittlege CD no. 706; 1085 Witelie DB (prob. identical); 1167 Wittelega Pipe R; 1254 Whitele Pat. R; 1286 Whitlee Ch. R; 1333 Whytele Br. Mus.

It is impossible to say whether the first element was the OE adj. $hw\bar{\imath}t$ or the p. n. $Hw\bar{\imath}ta$. The origin may consequently have been *at $p\bar{a}m$ ($p\bar{a}re$) $hw\bar{\imath}tan$ $l\bar{e}aze$ or *at $Hw\bar{\imath}tan$ $l\bar{e}aze$.

Wilcot NW of Pewsey.

1086 Wilcote DB; 1205 Wilcote Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1220 de Wilcot R. L. Cl.; 1285 in Wylekote Ch. R; c. 1290 de Wylecote T. Eccl.; 1428 in Wyl(e)cote FA.

From *Wil(l)an cot(e), Willa (*Wila) being probably a petform of one of the numerous p. n. compounds with Wil-. Cf. Wilton (E of Burbage), below, which seems to contain the same p. n.

Wilsford SW of Pewsey.

892 wifeles ford CS no. 567; 933 wifeles ford ib. no. 699; 1086 Wivlesford DB (prob. identical); 1218 Wivelesford Macray; 1288 Wyllisford Dugdale; 1316, 1428 Wyvelesford FA.

The first element contains a p. n., which in OE is only recorded in pl. ns. That this p. n. in certain cases may be of Scand. origin (ONorse Vifill) is indisputable (see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 175 f.), but it seems also quite certain — as Zachrisson points out in Stud. i mod. språkvet. VI, p. 278 — that there existed a native *Wifel as well; (note Wifeleshale, Warws., CS no. 127, A. D. 710).

Wilsford SW of Amesbury.

1086 Wiftesforde, Wiftesford DB (prob. identical); 1178?
Wywelisford Br. Mus.; c. 1200 Wivelford Osmund; c. 1207
Wivelesford Br. Mus.; c. 1230 Wivelesford Osmund; 1258
Wivelesford Ch. R; 1316 Willesford FA; 1428 Wylesford ib.
See preceding name.

Wilton.

The name occurs as Wiltun, Wiltunia, Wilton (Wylton) in the following charters: CS nos. 421, 459, 468—476, 635, 699, 714, 917, 1216, 1304; CD nos. 665, 687, 949, 1290; AS Chr. [871] æt Wiltune [Ā], [962] on Wiltune [Ā], DB de Wiltunic.

This place, which has given rise to the mod. name of the county (see introduction), takes its name from the r. Wiley, on which it is situated; see Wylye, below.

Note. (†) Willettun CD no. 1084 is obviously identical with mod. Wilton in Taunton, Soms.; (in Kemble and Thorpe it is erroneously identified with Wilton, Wilts.).

Wilton E of Burbage.

1227 Wulton Ch. R; 1402 Wilton FA; 1428 Wylton ib. Probably from *Wil(l)an tūn; for the p. n. Willa (*Wila) see Wilcot, above.

Wily see Wylye.

Winkfield (now called 'Wingfield') WSW of Trowbridge. 1086 Winefel DB; c. 1290 Wyneffeld T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. Winesfeld TN (prob. identical); 1316 de Wyncfelde FA; 1428 Wynfeld, Wenfeld ib.; 1458 Wynfeld Br. Mus.

From *Wines (or *Winan) feld, Wine, Wina being OE p. ns. The development of Win-> Wing- and probably also the change of ng > nk is due to AN influence; (cf. Dodine for Doding, Hardine for Harding, etc.; see Hildebrand, p. 360). Winkfield, the mod. official spelling, represents an earlier pronunciation, which is now quite abandoned. Cf. Wingfield, Derbs. (Walker, p. 269), Wingfield, Beds. (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 18), and Winsley, below. For the loss of d in the DB form see Stolze § 37.

Winsley W of Bradford.

1316 Wynesley FA; 1362 Winsleigh Phillipps' fines.

Originally *eet Wines (or *Winan) lēaze. On account of the proximity of this place to Winkfield, the p. n. which is contained in these two names may perhaps have represented one and the same person.

Winterbourne Bassett SSE of Wootton Basset.

1086 Wintreburne DB 71 a; 1178? North Wynterburn Br. Mus.; 1198 Winterburn ib.; 1199 Nort Wintborn Rot. Ch.; 1270 Northwinterburna Ch. R; c. 1290 Wynt'burn Basset T. Eccl.; 1316 Wynterburne Basset FA; 1325 Wynterburne Bassett Ch. R.

Originally *at pām (pāre) winter-burnan (at pāre w.-burne), here denoting the northern head-water of the r. Kennet. This common name was certainly applied to streams that dried up in summer.

W. Bassett was one of the old estates of the AN 'Bassett'-family.

Note. There seems no reason to locate Winterburna CD no. 269 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index, nor †Winterburna CD no. 886 (as Birch suggests). If (on) Winterburnan CD no. 422 was a Wilts. stream, it is to be located in the south-west of the county (in the neighbourhood of Knoyle).

Winterbourne Dauntsey NE of Salisbury.

fram winter burnan CS no. 1286; 1086 Wintreburne DB¹; 1316 Winterburne Dauntesey FA; 1428 Wynterbourn Dauntesey ib.

The name refers originally to the affluent of the Lower Avon which is now called 'the Bourne'. Cf. W. Earls, W. Ford, W. Gunner (or Cherborough), below, all of which derive their name from the same stream. 'Dauntsey' is a native family name (probably taken from Dauntsey SE of Malmesbury).

Winterbourne Earls NE of Salisbury.

1086 Wintreburne DB; c. 1290 Wynt'born Comitis T. Eccl.; 1316 Winterburne Comitis FA; 1323 Eurleswynterbourne Pat. R; 1324 Heorleswynterbourne FA.

¹ All the four mod. Winterbournes NE of Salisbury are, no doubt, represented in DB, for there are no less than seven Wintreburnes mentioned in Exon DB under Alderbury hundred.

² The same stream which in its upper course was at one time called (*)Colinga burn(e); see Collingbourne, above.

The manor has been in possession of the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, and Salisbury (see FA, pp. 200, 216, 239).

Winterbourne Ford NE of Salisbury.

1086 Wintreburne DB; 1320 Winterbourneford Cal. inq. da.

Winterbourne Gunner or Cherborough NE of Salisbury. 1086 Wintreburne DB; 1199 Maiden Wintborn Rot. Ch.; King John Maidwinterburgh Dugdale (corrupt); 1266 Wintreburn Gunore Pat. R; 1270 Maydenwinterburne Ch. R; 1290 Wynterburn Gunnore ib.; c. 1290 Wynt'born Cherburg T. Eccl.; 1314 Maidene Wynterborne C. Inq.; 1316 Winterburne Gonnor FA; 1332 Winterburne Cherberwe Cl. R.

'Gunner' is a corruption of 'Gunnora', referring to Gunnora de la Mere, who held lands here in the 12th century, and the epithet 'Maiden' may also refer to this lady. 'Cherborough' is a family name.

Winterbourne Monkton N of Avebury.

1086 Wintreborne DB 66 c; c. 1290 Wynt'burn Monach' T. Eccl.; 1316 Wynterborne Monachorum FA; 1544 Winterborn Mounckton Cat. A. D.

The village is situated on the same stream as Winterbourne Bassett; see above. The distinctive 'Monkton' is due to the fact that the Abbot of Glastonbury was formerly tenant of the manor (see DB).

Note. There seems no reason whatever to identify (at) Winter-burnan CS no. 1145 with this place, as is suggested by Birch.

Winterbourne Stoke W of Amesbury.

1086 Wintreburne-Stoch DB¹; 1167 Wintburn Stoche Pipe R; 1248 de Winterburnestoke Macray; 1283 Wynterbournestoke C. Inq.; 1316 de Wynterburnestoke FA.

¹ The mod. equivalents of the other *Winterburnes* mentioned in Exon DB under Dole hundred seem impossible to identify (see, however, the suggestions made by Jones, pp. 241, 242).

Originally *et pēm stoce (for OE stoc see Baverstock). 'Winterbourne', which in the present case is the distinctive name, refers to the affluent of the Wiley which passes here.

Winterslow ENE of Salisbury.

1086 Wintresleu, Wintreslei (three times) DB; 1166 Winterlawa Reğ Pipe R; 1178? Wyntreslawa Br. Mus.; c. 1190 of Wintreslewe Cal. France; 1199 in Wintlawe Rot. Ch.; 1201 Wintreslau Br. Mus.; 1216 de Wintrelewe R. L. Cl.; 1249 of Winterslewe C. Inq.: 1275 Wyntreslawe ib.; 1316 de Winterslewe FA; 1323 of Wynterslowe Ch. R; 1402, 1428 de Wynterslewe FA.

Originally *Wintran (Wintres?) hlāw (hlāw). OE hlāw (hlāw) = '(funeral) mound'. Wintra is recorded as an OE p. n. as early as A. D. 699, and a native Winter may perhaps also have existed (although not recorded as an independent name except on the Continent). For the confusion of the second element with lei (< OE lēaze) cf. Chedglow, above. Note in connection with this name on wintres hlæwe CS no. 761, mentioned among the boundaries of Garanford (Garford, Berks.).

The manor was for a time Crown property (see Jones, p. 243), which accounts for the distinctive 'Regis'.

Wishford, Great and Little NNW of Wilton.

1086 Wicheford (twice) DB; c. 1190 de Wykford Majori Maeray; 1227, 1268 Wicheford Ch. R; 1277 Wicford C. Inq.; 1289 Magna Wycheford ib.; 1316 Magna Whicheford, Parva W. FA; 1324 Wychford, Litel Wycford ib.; 1336 Muchelewycheford Pat. R; 1351 Muchel Wichford Br. Mus.; 1408 Magna Wichefford ib.; 1476 Little Whisford Cal. Inq.; 1493 Wisheford C. Inq.; 1513 Wyssheford Magna Br. Mus.

Originally *wic-ford. (wie = 'dwelling', 'cottage'). The late change of tf > f is quite analogous to the case of 'Ashelton', the mod. pronunciation of Etchilhampton; see Zachrisson, p. 158 f.. and Etchilhampton, above.

12 E. Ekblom

Wolf Hall near Burbage.

1086 Ulfela DB; 1180 Wulfhala Pipe R; 1199 de Wulfhale Rot. Ch.; 1324 Wolphal FA; 1332 Wolfhale C. Inq.; 1451 de Wolfehale R. Pat.; 1485 in Wolfale C. Inq.; 1490 Wulfall ib..

From *Wulfan (Wulfes?) heall (or healh); *Wulfa is to be considered as a hypocoristic form of some name beginning with Wulf-. Wulf is recorded as an independent p. n.

Woodborough W of Pewsey.

1240 in Wudeberg' Cl. R; 1258 de Wodeberg R. fin. exc.; 1277 Wodebore C. Inq.; c. 1290 Wodebergh T. Eccl.; 1316 de Wodeberghe FA; 1428 Wodebergh ib.; 1596 Woodborough Br. Mus.

Originally *wudu-beorg. For the frequent substitution of -borough for -bergh see Brokenborough, above.

Note. (to) wuduburh (†wudubeorch) hylle CD nos. 436, 698, 985, 1036, 1108 is not identical with the present place, as is stated by Kemble, but was obviously situated in south Wilts. (between Bower Chalk and Britford).

Woodford NNW of Salisbury.

972 (to pæm ealdan) wuduforda CS no. 1286; 1120 Wodeford Macray; 1214 in Wudeford R. Oblat.; 1226 Wdeford Osmund; 1316 Woodeford Magna, Wodeford Parva FA.

Note. †Wodeforde CD no. 460 is to be located in the northwest corner of Wilts.; (when Kemble identifies it with mod. Woodford, he is probably referring to the present place,)

Woodhill S of Wootton Bassett.

1086 Wadhulle DB; early 14th cent. Wodhull TN; c. 1340 Wodhull NI; 1402 in Wodhulle FA.

Originally *wudu-hyll. The a-vowel in the DB form is certainly a spelling mistake.

Woodrow adjoining Melksham.

1280 of La Woderowe Cl. R; 1286 (in) Woderowe Ch. R; 1298 (of) Woderowe Pat. R; 1309 Woderowe ib.; 1490 of Woderowe C. Inq.

This name corresponds to an OE *wudu-rāw (rāw), [*et (þāre) wudu-rāwe (rāwe)]. The meaning of this compound seems, however, not quite clear. Did it mean 'edge of a wood'?

Wootton Bassett.

680 †Wdetun CS no. 54; 745 †Wdetun ib. no. 170; 844 †Wttune ib. 447; 937 †Wdetun ib. no. 718; 1065 Wdetun CD no. 817; 1086 Wodetone DB; 1230 Wutton Ch. R; 1271 Wotton Basset C. Inq.; 1316 Wotton Bassett FA.

Originally *wudu-tūn. The place is an old estate of the AN 'Bassetts'.

Note. There seems no reason to locate Wudetune CD no. 1183 in Wilts., as Kemble does. In CS (no. 969) it is located in Hants.

Wootton Rivers S of Marlborough.

803—805 Wdutun CS no. 324; 1086 Otone DB; 1194 de Wottoñ Rot. Cur.; c. 1290 de Wottone T. Eccl.; 1316 Wootton FA; 1332 Wotton Ryvers Pat. R; 1428 Wotton (Ryver) FA; 1490 Wutton Ryver C. Inq.

See preceding name. 'Rivers' represents a French family name (see Hildebrand, p. 342); according to Jones, p. 228, it refers to the Walter de Riperia, mentioned in Abbr. Plac., p. 78.

Worton SW of Potterne.

1173 Wrton Osmund; 1175—79 Wrtona Br. Mus.; 1309 Worton ib.; 1316 Worton FA.

I suggest an original *wyrt- $t\bar{u}n$, which may have meant much the same as 'garden'. (OE wyrt = herb, vegetable). Cf. Worton, Oxfs. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.) and

Wortley (in Tankersley par.), W. R. of Yorks. (see Moorman).

Wraxhall, North [reksəl] NW of Corsham.

1086 Werocheshalle DB; 1281 de Worxhale Pat. R (or = W South); 1316 de Wroxhale FA; 1428 in Wroxale ib.; 1468 Northwroxhall Cal. Inq.; 1477 Northwraxhall ib.

From *Wrocces heall, *Wroc(c) being a p. n., found in the local Wroccesheale CD no. 768; cf. Wroxton (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.), Wroxhill (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 29), and Wraxhall, Sóms. (1323 Wrockeshale C. Inq.) The present name, like the following. offers another example of the influence of the tendency among the Wilts. dialects to change o > a; (see under Calcutt). For the AN rendering of Wr- by Wer- see Zachrisson, p. 51.

Wraxhall, South N of Bradford.

c. 1290 Wrockeshale, de Wroxhale T. Eccl.; 1316 de Wroxhale FA; 1468 Suthwroxhall Cal. Inq.; 1477 Suthwraxhall ib. See preceding name.

Wroughton S of Swindon.

1086 Wertune (prob. identical), in Wervetone (prob. ident. but corrupt) DB; 1226 Werkton Phillipps' ped. fin.; Edw. I in Overe Werstone, in Nether Werston' Rot. H; c. 1290 Netherwerston T. Eccl.; 1300 Wrfton, Wertonam (Lat. acc.) Ch. R; 1316 Werston FA; 1328 Overwarston C. Inq.; 1428 (Nethyr) Wroghton, Over Worston, Nethyr Wrofton FA; 1488 Nethir Wroughton C. Inq.

Undoubtedly from *weore-tūn [meaning much the same as *weoremannes (weoremanna) tūn]. The development of the combination ct has taken place on exactly the same lines as pre-Germ. kt; [note that the two-fold development of this combination (viz. ght and ft) is represented here]. Cf. Broughton, above. s in some forms is probably an AN rendering of the palatal fricative χ (see under

Brigmerston). Nether W. seems to have denoted the present village, and Over W. the farm immediately south of it, now called Overtown.

Wyke near Trowbridge. 1252 of Wyke Ch. R. *wt (Φ@m) wice.

Wylye or Wily [waili] on the r. Wiley 1 SE of Heytesbury.
688 Wileo (flumen), [Unilig] CS no. 70; 860 be wilig ib. 500;
880—85 æt Welig ib. 553; Guilou (flumen) Asser; 901 Biwilig
ib. 595; 940 be Wilig ib. 757; 943 wilig ib. 782; 946—
955 æt Wilig ib. 819; 957 wilig ib. 992; 963 on wilig
ib. 783; 968 on wilig ib. 1216; 1045 on wili(stream) CD
no. 778; 1086 Wilgi, Wili DB; c. 1125 Wile (fluvius) W.
Malm.; 1270 Wili Ch. R; c. 1290 Wyly T. Eccl.; 1316
Wyley FA.

This is, no doubt, a Celtic name. McClure, p. 250 footnote, mentions two river-names in Wales which in all probability contain the same element, viz. Aber-guilly and Camguili. It is possible that the name is connected with Welsh gwy = 'water'.

Note. It is very uncertain whether *Uuilea* CD no. 115, *Wilig* ib. no. 611, and *Wigli*, *Wilig* ib. nos. 664, 665 are to be located in Wiltshire, in spite of Kemble's statement. (on) *Wiles yge* ib. no. 1136 seems to have been situated in Hants., near Overton (SW of Basingstoke).

Yarnfield NNW of Mere.

Hen. III Jernefeld Dugdale; 1260 Gernefeud Br. Mus.; 1536 Yernefeld Dugdale.

I derive this name from *Earnan feld, with change of stress in the initial diphthong; (on this point see Ablington

¹ It may be pointed out that all the OE forms, quoted above, refer to the river at different places.

and Urchfont, above). Cf. Yarnfield, Staffs., occurring in ME as Ernefeld, Ernefen (see Duignan, Notes on Staffs. Pl. Ns), which undoubtedly is to be explained in the same way¹, and also Yarnton Oxfs. (<*Eardinga tūn; Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.). There are also two other Wilts. names which, although no old references have been found, most probably contain the same p. n., viz. Yarnbury, an ancient camp N of Steeple Langford, and Yarnbrook, a small hamlet S of Trowbridge. It is, at any rate, quite obvious that these two names cannot contain OE 'zearn. -feud (Br. Mus.) shows AN vocalization of l.

Yatesbury E of Calne.

1086 Etesberie DB; 1199 Hyatebir Feet of fines; 1207 Yttebir R. Oblat. (prob. identical); 1226 Getesbir Osmund; 1239 Yetesbur Ch. R; 1252 Yateburi ib.; Yetebiry Pat. R; 1263 Yettesbiry ib.; c. 1290 Ietesbury, Yattesbur' T. Eccl.; 1309 Hyatesbury C. Inq.; 1316 Yattesbury FA; 1324, 1428 Yatesbury ib.

On account of the twofold development of initial OE ĕa, it is quite impossible to say whether the first element of this name (and of Yatton, below) was originally zeat (*zeata²) or Eata. Binz's statement, p. 152, that Yatesbury is an example of a pl. n. containing zeat (= the god Woden), is consequently not at all reliable. See Zachrisson's discussion of this question, p. 65.

Yatton Keynell NW of Chippenham.

1086 Etone DB 66 b, Etone ib. 70 b (according to Jones); Getone ib. (possibly ident.); 1257 Iatton C. Inq.; c. 1290

¹ Duignan's opinion that the first element represents OE *zearn* (yarn) seems very improbable, but I admit that the influence of ME *yern*, *yarn* may have aided the survival of the *ia*-forms.

² a hypocoristic form of some compound p. n. with *zeat* as the first element, the existence of which there is no reason to doubt. There is even one on record, viz. *Geatfleda* (fem.) CS no. 1254.

de Yattone T. Eccl.; 1316 Yatton FA; 1317 of Iattone Kayngnel C. Inq.

See preceding name. 'Keynell' (Kennel) is a family name of uncertain provenience.

Zeals WSW of Mere.

1086 Sele, Sela DB; 1220 Seles Osmund; 1246 Seles Pat. R; 1263 Celes C. Inq.; 1299 Selles Cal. Inq.; 1428 Selesaylesbury FA; 1458 Seles Aylesbury Cal. Inq.

OE sele, selas ('house', 'dwelling'). z in the mod. form is due to a tendency for initial s to become z in this dialect; see Ellis, p. 38. Cf. Zeal, Devon, according to Birch identical with †at Seale CS no. 968.

'Ailesbury' is a family name.

List of second elements in Wiltshire place-names ¹.

OE *ecer* m.: Beanacre, Goatacre.

OE ærn n.: Chitterne, Colerne, Potterne, Vasterne.

OE bece f. (beech): Burbage (probably).

OE beorz (beorh) m.: Brokenborough, Marlborough, Wanborough, Woodborough (with later substitution).

OE brōc m.: Beversbrook, Westbrook.

OE brom m.: Southbroom.

OE bryez f.: Bulbridge, Cowbridge, Longbridge (Deverill), Trowbridge.

OE burh (dat. byriz) f.: Alderbury, Amesbury, Avebury, Badbury, Barbury, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Fosbury, Hazelbury, Heytesbury, Malmesbury, Ramsbury, Salisbury, Tisbury, Westbury, Yatesbury; [uncompounded in Bury (Blunsdon)].

OE burn, burne f., burna m.: frequent.

OE *cealc* m.: Bower Chalk, Broad Ch., (originally uncompounded).

OE cirice f.: Ivychurch.

OE *clif* n.: Baycliff, Swallowcliffe; [uncomp. in Clevancy, Cliffe (Pypard)].

OE cote f., cot n.: frequent.

OE croft m.: Paxcroft.

¹ For practical reasons I have preferred to state the OE forms of the elements, although many names have of course been formed at a much later date.

OE *cumb* m.: Alcombe, Boscombe, Burcombe, Catcombe, Elcombe, Hippenscombe, Stitchcombe, Tidcombe, Wexcombe, Whitcombe; [uncomp. in (Castle) Combe, Combe, Coombe (Bissett)].

OE denu f., dene m. f.: Chisledon (with a later substitution), Figheldean, Marden, Standen, Surrendell?, Whaddon (SE of Salisbury; with substitution); (uncomp. in Dean).

OE die m. f.: Grims Ditch, Wansdyke.

OE dūn f.: Baydon, Blunsdon, Bowden, Braydon? Clarendon, Fresdon, Garsdon, Gomeldon, Hannington (with substitution), Haydon, Hazeldon, Moredon, Swindon, Whaddon (SW of Melksham).

OE eard m. (dwelling, home): Tollard.

OE feld m.: Bradfield, Chalfield, Cowesfield, Froxfield, Winkfield. Yarnfield.

OE fen(n) m. n.: Ratfyn.

OE font ("funt) m.: Fovant, Teffont, Urchfont.

OE ford m.: frequent.

OE geard m.: Derriads.

OE zelād n., see lād.

OE zelæt(e) n.: Longleat.

OE (ze)mære n.: Bridmore (with a later substitution). Buttermere, Imber; (uncomp. in Mere).

OE hām m.: Corsham, Foxham, Grittenham, Melksham.

OE ham(m) m.: Chippenham; (uncomp. in Ham).

Either hām or ham(m): Bremilham, Bromham, Cadnam, Harnham, Hartham, Horningsham, Inglesham, Lackham, Lyneham, Pewsham, Tockenham.

OE hām-tūn (homestead): Bathampton, Chilhampton, Netherhampton, Quidhampton, Sevenhampton, Wedhampton.

OE hēafod n.: (head of a down): Donhead.

OE heall f.: Bincknoll, Mildenhall, Wraxhall (prob. both). Either heall or healh m.: Ludgershall, Midgehall, Rushall, Wolf Hall.

OE hīd f.: Fifield (2), Fyfield (with a later substitution),

Tilshead, Tinhead (-head due to weakning); [uncomp. in Hyde].

OE hiwise n.: Hardenhuish; (uncomp. in Huish).

OE hlāw (hlāw) m.: Chedglow, Winterslow.

· OE hline m.: Standlynch.

OE holt m. n.: Poulshot; (uncomp. in Holt).

OE hryez m.: Ditteridge, Eastridge, Lockeridge, Sandridge; (uncomp. in Ridge).

OE hyll m. f.: Greenhill, Lushill, Oakhill, Sedgehill, Wood-

hill; (Hill Deverill).

OE hyrst m. (hurst): Gastard.

OE *iez* f. (in Wilts. pl. ns = 'marshy land'): Dauntsey, Eisey, Minety, Oaksey, Patney, Pewsey, (Seagry?).

OE lād f. (zelād n.): Chapmanslade, Chicklade, Cricklade.

OE land n.: Blackland.

OE lēah m. f.: frequent.

OE mearc f.: Chilmark.

OE mor m.: Blackmore.

OE mynster n.: Warminster.

OE ōra m. (border, bank): Wardour; (uncomp. in Oare).

ME parish (paroche, etc.): Whiteparish.

OE port m. (gate, entrance): Westport.

OE rāw (rāw) f.: Woodrow.

OE stān m.: Sherston.

OE stede m.: Grimstead.

OE stoc m. (= place): Baverstock, Beechingstoke, Bradenstoke, Earl Stoke, Laverstock, Odstock; [uncomp. in (Purton) Stoke, Stoke (Farthing), Stokke, and (Winterbourne) Stoke].

OE trēow n.: Bishopstrow.

OE tūn m.; frequent.

OE porp (prop) m.: Eastrop, Salthrop, Westrop; (uncomp. in Throope).

OE wez m.: Chittoe, Highway, Roundway.

OE weorp (worp, wurp, wyrp) m. f: Atworth, Brinkworth, Chelworth (2), Hamptworth, Highworth, Pertwood (with substitution), Sopworth, Tedworth.

OE wie n. (f.): Berwick (4), Chaddenwicke, Southwick, Wadswick; [uncomp. in (Bremhill) Wick, (Farleigh) Wick, (Haydon) Wick, and Wyke].

OE (WS) wielle, wylle m. f. [wyll(a) m.]: Crudwell, Groundwell, Ludwell, Stowell.

OE wudu m.: Bowood, Heywood, Oxenwood, Thickwood, Westwood.

Errata.

- p. 22, line 5 and 4 from bottom, read insufficient.
- » 25, » 4 from top, read be represented by.
- 37, 37 and p. 39, line 10 from top, read Edward the Confessor.
- » 39, » 16 from top, read occurring.
- » 73, » 6 » » hardly any trace.



